



Michael:
Never Can
Say Goodbye

Our Man in Kabul:
The General Who's
Remaking Afghanistan



Joe Klein on Why
Obama Needs to Make
Tougher Choices

TIME

The Renegade



Sarah Palin takes
the road less traveled.
But where does it lead?

BY DAVID VON DREHLE
& JAY NEWTON-SMALL

IMAGINE THIS BLISTERING RASH ALONG WITH STABBING PAIN



AND YOU'LL HAVE AN IDEA OF
WHAT IT CAN BE LIKE TO HAVE SHINGLES.



For more information on the availability of ZOSTAVAX through the Merck Vaccine Patient Assistance Program, visit ZOSTAVAX.com/freevaccines or call 1-877-9 SHINGLES.

IF YOU HAD CHICKENPOX AS A CHILD, YOU COULD GET SHINGLES NOW.

The chickenpox virus is still in your body.

It can resurface as Shingles, a painful, blistering rash. The Shingles rash usually lasts up to 30 days, and for most the pain lessens as the rash heals. But some people who develop Shingles experience long-term pain that can last for months, even years.

ZOSTAVAX is a vaccine that can help prevent Shingles.

ZOSTAVAX is used to prevent Shingles in adults 60 years of age or older. Once you reach age 60, the sooner you get vaccinated, the better your chances of protecting yourself from Shingles. ZOSTAVAX is given as a single shot. ZOSTAVAX cannot be used to treat Shingles, or the nerve pain that may follow Shingles, once you have it. Talk to your health care professional to see if ZOSTAVAX is right for you.

Important Safety Information

ZOSTAVAX may not fully protect everyone who gets the vaccine. You should not get ZOSTAVAX if you are allergic to any of its ingredients, including gelatin and neomycin, have a weakened immune system, take high doses of steroids, or are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. Possible side effects include redness, pain, itching, swelling, warmth, or bruising at the injection site, as well as headache. You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch or call 1-800-FDA-1088. Before getting vaccinated, talk to your health care professional about situations you may need to avoid after getting ZOSTAVAX. Please see the Patient Product Information on the adjacent page.

Before you get **Shingles**, ask about ZOSTAVAX.

ZOSTAVAX[®]
Zoster Vaccine Live

www.zostavax.com

Patient Information about ZOSTAVAX® (pronounced "ZOS tah vax")

Generic name: Zoster Vaccine Live

You should read this summary of information about ZOSTAVAX¹ before you are vaccinated. If you have any questions about ZOSTAVAX after reading this leaflet, you should ask your health care provider. This information does not take the place of talking about ZOSTAVAX with your doctor, nurse, or other health care provider. Only your health care provider can decide if ZOSTAVAX is right for you.

What is ZOSTAVAX and how does it work?

ZOSTAVAX is a vaccine that is used for adults 60 years of age or older to prevent shingles (also known as zoster).

ZOSTAVAX contains a weakened chickenpox virus (varicella-zoster virus).

ZOSTAVAX works by helping your immune system protect you from getting shingles. If you do get shingles even though you have been vaccinated, ZOSTAVAX may help prevent the nerve pain that can follow shingles in some people.

ZOSTAVAX may not protect everyone who gets the vaccine. ZOSTAVAX cannot be used to treat shingles once you have it.

What do I need to know about shingles and the virus that causes it?

Shingles is caused by the same virus that causes chickenpox. Once you have had chickenpox, the virus can stay in your nervous system for many years. For reasons that are not fully understood, the virus may become active again and give you shingles. Age and problems with the immune system may increase your chances of getting shingles.

Shingles is a rash that is usually on one side of the body. The rash begins as a cluster of small red spots that often blister. The rash can be painful. Shingles rashes usually last up to 30 days and, for most people, the pain associated with the rash lessens as it heals.

Who should not get ZOSTAVAX?

You should not get ZOSTAVAX if you:

- are allergic to any of its ingredients.
- are allergic to gelatin or neomycin.
- have a weakened immune system (for example, an immune deficiency, leukemia, lymphoma, or HIV/AIDS).
- take high doses of steroids by injection or by mouth.
- are pregnant or plan to get pregnant.

You should not get ZOSTAVAX to prevent chickenpox.

Children should not get ZOSTAVAX.

How is ZOSTAVAX given?

ZOSTAVAX is given as a single dose by injection under the skin.

What should I tell my health care provider before I get ZOSTAVAX?

You should tell your health care provider if you:

- have or have had any medical problems.
- take any medicines, including nonprescription medicines, and dietary supplements.
- have any allergies, including allergies to neomycin or gelatin.
- had an allergic reaction to another vaccine.
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant.
- are breast-feeding.

Tell your health care provider if you expect to be in close contact (including household contact) with newborn infants, someone who may be pregnant and has not had chickenpox or been vaccinated against chickenpox, or someone who has problems with their immune system. Your health care provider can tell you what situations you may need to avoid.

What are the possible side effects of ZOSTAVAX?

The most common side effects that people in the clinical studies reported after receiving the vaccine include:

- redness, pain, itching, swelling, warmth, or bruising where the shot was given.
- headache.

The following additional side effects have been reported in general use with ZOSTAVAX:

- allergic reactions, which may be serious and may include difficulty in breathing or swallowing. If you have an allergic reaction, call your doctor right away.
- fever
- rash
- swollen glands near the injection site (that may last a few days to a few weeks)

Tell your health care provider if you have any new or unusual symptoms after you receive ZOSTAVAX.

What are the ingredients of ZOSTAVAX?

Active Ingredient: a weakened form of the varicella-zoster virus.

Inactive Ingredients: sucrose, hydrolyzed porcine gelatin, sodium chloride, monosodium L-glutamate, sodium phosphate dibasic, potassium phosphate monobasic, potassium chloride.

What else should I know about ZOSTAVAX?

Vaccinees and their health care providers are encouraged to call (800) 986-8999 to report any exposure to ZOSTAVAX during pregnancy.

This leaflet summarizes important information about ZOSTAVAX.

If you would like more information, talk to your health care provider or visit the website at www.ZOSTAVAX.com or call 1-800-622-4477.

Rx only

Issued December 2008

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It's not the advice you'd expect. Learning a new language seems formidable, as we recall from years of combat with grammar and translations in school. Yet infants begin at birth. They communicate at eighteen months and speak the language fluently before they go to school. And they never battle translations or grammar explanations along the way.

Born into a veritable language jamboree, children figure out language purely from the sounds, objects and interactions around them.

Their senses fire up neural circuits that send the stimuli to different language areas in the brain. Meanings fuse to words. Words string into structures. And language erupts.

Three characteristics of the child's language-learning process are crucial for success:

First, and most importantly, a child's natural language-learning ability emerges only in a speech-soaked, immersion environment free of translations and explanations of grammar.

Second, a child's language learning is dramatically accelerated by constant feedback from family and friends. Positive correction and persistent reinforcement nurture the child's language and language skills into full communicative expression.

Third, children learn through play, whether it's the arm-waving balancing act that announces their first step or the spluttering preamble to their first words. All the conversational chatter skittering through young children's play with parents and playmates—"...what's this..." "...clap, clap your hands..." "...my ball..."—helps children develop language skills that connect them to the world.

Adults possess this same powerful language-learning ability that orchestrated our language success as children. Sadly, our clashes with vocabulary drills and grammar explanations force us to conclude it's hopeless. We simply don't have "the language learning gene."

At Rosetta Stone,[®] we know otherwise. You can recover your native language-learning ability as an adult by prompting your brain to learn language the way it's wired to learn language:

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by complete immersion. Our award-winning, computer-based method does just that.

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Every act of learning is an act of play for children and there's no reason it should be different for learners of any age. With Rosetta Stone programs, you rediscover the joy of learning language. Clever, puzzle-like activities produce sudden "Aha!" moments and astonishing language discoveries.

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Beware of New.

Being new is not always a good thing.

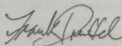
In fact, "new" is usually a fancy way of saying untested, untried and unready.

Some proof? Instead of creating more free time, new technologies have made it harder to leave our jobs at the office. And instead of providing comfort and support, new shoes always give us blisters. (Always.)

Why on earth would anyone unleash something new?

Luckily, at Post Shredded Wheat we always temper any new ideas with the same one, original ingredient we've been using since 1892 – fiber-rich, 100% whole grain wheat. So while the natural vanilla and real almonds in Post Vanilla Almond Shredded Wheat might be new, they're simply baked into pure, honest-to-goodness wheat. The same kind we've been shredding for 117 years.

As a result, it's the only delicious new cereal on the market that's sort-of-new.



Frank Druffel



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On the cover: Sarah Palin photographed for TIME at her home in Wasilla, Alaska, on July 7, 2009, by Brian Adams—Rapport. Insets, from left: Harrison Funk—Reuters; Jim Young—Reuters

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TIME

EVERYTHING YOU THOUGHT ABOUT BUICK JUST WENT BOOM.

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To Our Readers

The Rules of Leadership.

Our series on leadership suggests that charisma is overrated and that nothing matches the power of getting things done

THERE SEEM TO BE EVEN MORE BOOKS ON leadership than there are leaders. And while there is no lack of theories about leadership, there is a dearth of great leaders. You can define a great leader in all kinds of ways—and TIME has been defining the nature of leadership since we started. Co-founder Henry Luce devoutly believed in the great-man theory of history—that history did not make the man; the man made history. Luce's introduction of our most enduring franchise, Person of the Year (it was Man of the Year until 1999), was a tribute to his belief that individuals are the prime movers behind events. I'm skeptical of that notion and subscribe to the English expression "Cometh the hour, cometh the man." Or woman.

This issue features our second annual leadership series, anchored by a witty and knowing guide to modern rules of leadership from our international editor, Michael Elliott. Michael spends a lot of time outside the U.S. and has long been interested in the way perceptions of leadership differ around the world. In his piece, Michael cites the great German sociologist Max Weber's three types of leadership, which are still relevant today: the traditional, the legal-bureaucratic and the charismatic. He looks at how modern leaders from Germany's Angela Merkel to the U.N.'s Ban Ki-moon not only fit into Weber's matrix but also chart new models of leadership.

Aside from Elliott's piece, this issue features powerful stories that are all about leadership. Correspondents Mark Thompson and Aryn Baker's story on General Stan McChrystal describes a military leader who uses a bureaucratic and knowledge-based style of leadership to accomplish his goals. He operates with enormous self-discipline and intelligence, and while he's not a transformational or charismatic leader, he is a model for those he leads. The cover story on Sarah Palin, by editor-at-large David Von Drehle and correspondent Jay Newton-Smith, portrays a different style of leader: she is the textbook example of Weber's charismatic leader, who uses personal appeal and magnetism and a disdain for traditional structures as



Facets of leadership

Clockwise from top: Palin, far left, with Newton-Smith, in Wasilla, Alaska; Elliott; the Mandela Day logo; and McChrystal



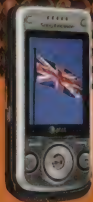
a route to power. Hers is the opposite of the legal-bureaucratic style and seems based more on intuition, emotion and frontier values of independence. Finally, Joe Klein's column on Barack Obama urges the President to truly lead on difficult issues like health care and climate change and to make some hard choices. As you see, we don't write about leadership in a theoretical way—every week, we write about leadership in real time involving real events.

Last year, our leadership issue featured a cover story I wrote about Nelson Mandela's rules of leadership that was timed to the worldwide celebration of his 90th birthday. This year, the producers of his 90th-birthday event—the 46664 campaign (that was Mandela's prison number on Robben Island) and the Nelson Mandela Foundation in Johannesburg—are starting what they call Mandela Day on July 18, his birthday. The idea is that July 18 will become an international day of service to mark Mandela's birthday and honor his lifetime of extraordinary

sacrifice and devotion. It is not meant to be a holiday or a day off so much as a day of engagement. The logo for the event has the motto "Make an imprint," with a print of Mandela's palm. The weeklong celebration of the inaugural Mandela Day will culminate in New York City with a concert at Radio City Music Hall and other events around the globe. New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg's new volunteerism program strongly supports the initiative. As Bill Clinton writes in his endorsement of Mandela Day, "The power of public good does not require public office." Neither does leadership.

Rich

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR



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10 Questions.

As the news business struggles, the New York Times's executive editor talks shop. **Bill Keller will now take your questions**



Next Questions
Ask Daniel Radcliffe your questions for an upcoming interview at time.com/10Questions

Why do you think the press gave the Bush Administration a free pass on the misleading statements it made to get us into the war in Iraq?

Randal Davis, PORTLAND, ORE.
It was partly the insatiable desire for scoops people in the Administration were feeding about the potential threat in Iraq. But a lot of it was just that we floated along with the conventional wisdom, the worst enemy of journalism.

Bearing in mind the popularity and competitive nature of online journalism, do you think print media still have a future?

Chukwunwikezaramu Okumephuna, LONDON

I think this talk about the death of newspapers is a little exaggerated. While online is clearly more and more the future, print has a lot of life left in it.

You recently appeared as part of a *Daily Show* segment that treated the paper as a comical anachronism. How do you respond to those who seem eager for newspapers to die out?

Tommy Giglio, CHICAGO
Well, that's the last time I try to be a good sport. Even my wife told me that I looked faintly ridiculous, and she was trying to make me feel better. Among the people who would miss us most would be the wise-guy pundits and scriptwriters for satirical TV shows, because they riff on the news we produce.

In your view, what's the most important story that's currently underreported?

J. Bow, CANTON, OHIO
The war in Iraq, because it's very expensive and danger-



Bill Keller

ous to cover. A lot of news organizations don't maintain bureaus there anymore.

The Times had no problem leaking state secrets, claiming the truth required that they be published. Yet it had no qualms lying about the kidnapping of one of its reporters to protect his safety. What is the difference?

Bob Dame, CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.

The fact is, we sometimes withhold information from print either because we're convinced that publishing it would put lives at risk or to protect national security. We've done that not only in the case of [kidnapped reporter] David Rohde but other kidnappings as well. We've done

it in the case of state secrets. But we can't surrender to the government all the decision-making power.

What do you think about the pressure Iran puts on journalists?

Eduardo Chikui, SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL
It's ultimately self-destructive. Iran has both forced foreign journalists out of the country and attempted to shut down the work of Iranian journalists. In the long run, this will have a very corrosive effect on the Iranian government.

Do you think there should always be freedom of the press?

Simon Costello, AUSTRALIA
I don't think that there is absolute freedom of the press. We

operate under laws—against libel, for instance. The idea that there is some absolute press freedom is kind of a myth.

Do reporters avoid writing unflattering things about sources?

Ray Gambel, NEW ORLEANS
There's no question that sources sometimes have interests aside from the truth when they talk to reporters. That's why reporters have to very aggressively report against their own theses and against their initial information. One of the most important disciplines in journalism is to challenge your working premises.

Should journalists strive to present ideas as balanced, regardless of the actual credibility of either side?

Jonathan Silver, PHILADELPHIA
I don't think fairness means that you give equal time to every point of view no matter how marginal. You weigh the sides, you do some truth-testing, you apply judgment to them. We don't treat creationism as science. Likewise in the autism-vaccine debate, our reporting shows pretty clearly which side the science is on.

Why is the Times so anti-American?

Jim Main, ORLANDO, FLA.
Journalists at the Times love their country just as much as anybody else. We don't see it as our job to be a cheerleader for everything America does. ■



VIDEO AT TIME.COM

To watch a video interview with Bill Keller and to subscribe to the 10 Questions podcast on iTunes, go to time.com/10Questions



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Postcard: Guatemala City. Can the outcry over a shocking murder spur legal reforms in one of Latin America's deadliest capitals?

Chasing away the bloody ghost of Alvarado

BY TIM PADGETT

Global Dispatch
For more postcards
from around the world,
visit time.com

IT'S BEEN FIVE CENTURIES SINCE PEDRO de Alvarado, a homicidal Spanish conquistador, seized from the Maya the volcanic realm that became Guatemala. But his bloodlust still haunts the country, which today has one of the highest homicide rates in the western hemisphere. Guatemala's 36-year-long civil war, which ended in 1996, killed 200,000 people. Its cloak-and-dagger murders have made locals so paranoid that "even the drunks are discreet," as one 19th-century visitor wrote.

That neurosis still shrouds Guatemala City, a gloomy capital that no amount of marimba music can brighten. Rich and poor communities alike are surrounded by walls topped with enough razor wire and rifle-toting guards to look like penitentiaries. This year tandem motorcycle riding was banned because it was such a popular M.O. for drive-by shootings, and daylight saving time was canceled because the dark mornings created too many opportunities for foul play. Even so, bus drivers face being killed by armed extortionists during rush hour, and lawyers who complain about government corruption can turn up under the bougainvilleas with a few bullets in the head.

That's apparently what happened to Rodrigo Rosenberg, a corporate lawyer murdered on May 10 while biking near his home. In a twist that's macabre even for Guatemala, Rosenberg had taped a video three days earlier in which he anticipated his assassination and put the blame on President Alvaro Colom and his imperious wife Sandra Torres. They deny it, saying their right-wing foes coerced Rosenberg into making the video and then had him killed.

But since the shocking video was up loaded to YouTube on May 11, the nation has begun to confront the benighted lawlessness that plagues not only Guatemala but most of the rest of Central America too. Younger Guatemalans, organizing protests via social-networking sites such as Face-



The last victim The murder of Rodrigo Rosenberg, shot to death while biking, has sparked a furor

book and Twitter, have turned out by the thousands to protest their putrid judicial system and festoon Rosenberg's murder scene with banners. "Older people say they haven't seen an awakening like this in 60 years," says Alejandro Quinteros, 26, a cherubic fast-food manager and political novice who helps lead the National Civic Movement. "We're not afraid anymore."

Fear is understandable in a country that feels like a "baroque game of chess played with bodies," says Francisco

Goldman, whose book *The Art of Political Murder* details the 1998 assassination of Catholic bishop Juan Gerardi, who was bludgeoned to death after issuing a report on army massacres during the civil war. In a nation where just 2% of last year's 6,200 murders were solved, "impunity opens doors to murderous imaginations," says Goldman.

But the outcry over the Rosenberg case has opened doors to reform. Guatemala's congress was compelled to pass a law, long resisted by powerful political and business interests, that allows public scrutiny of judicial appointments. This month

lawmakers say they're set to convene at least one special session to act on measures such as concealed-weapons laws and the creation of organized-crime and anti-corruption courts. Activists like Alfonso Abril, 24, of the civic group ProReforma, want to revise Guatemala's sclerotic constitution to modernize lawmaking and codify individual rights. "I'm from the upper class," says Abril, "but I know we can't keep living in a country like this."

He also knows Guatemalan politics is still treacherous. More than 50 candidates were assassinated during the general election in 2007, the same year three visiting Salvadoran congressmen were murdered by rogue policemen (who were then mysteriously killed themselves). In his video, Rosenberg says his coffee-baron client Khalil Musa was gunned down along with his daughter in April because Musa knew too much about drug-money laundering. "Rodrigo wanted to talk about the deadly manipulation of laws and lives here," says his half brother Eduardo Rodas. Guatemala has asked the U.N. and the FBI to investigate his murder. After 500 years, Rosenberg's ghost may be the first to challenge Alvarado's.



Inbox

The Legacy of FDR

YOUR ISSUE ON FDR WAS A GREAT REMINDER that the U.S. suffered through hardships, only to emerge stronger and more internationally established [July 6]. However, many of FDR's proposals were enacted after the first 100 days. The jury remained out for quite some time before Roosevelt was dubbed one of the greatest Presidents. Maybe the lesson President Barack Obama should take from FDR is to work on what he thinks is necessary, even if it's politics that the American people don't fully appreciate or understand.

Phil Graffis, REDWOOD CITY, CALIF.

YOU DO YOUR USUAL EXCELLENT JOB OF reporting facts on history. But those of us who actually lived and tried to work and raise a family during those dark days know one extremely important fact: FDR did not resolve, diminish or end the Depression in any shape or form. It went on for 10 years! The Depression was ended, very effectively, when Hitler raised an iron fist and started our wartime factories humming.

Thomas D. Endicott, OCALA, FLA.

'All Americans should read more about what FDR faced when he took office. We overcame those problems and will do the same today.'

Lou Petty, MESA, ARIZ.

I WOULD MAKE THE CASE THAT THE FIRST 100 days of LBJ's elected term are by far the most significant of the modern presidency. Without the Civil Rights Act, we would have no President Obama. Without Medicare, we wouldn't even have a chance to attain universal health care. And while



SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

■ In "A Brief History of Camouflage," we misidentified a military jacket pattern as "tiger-stripe" [July 6]. The pictured jacket had a woodland pattern.

I'm glad Obama is channeling FDR's charismatic confidence when it comes to providing a public, nonprofit option to the insurance industry. I hope he channels LBJ's persuasive powers, especially among his fellow Democrats.

David Caskey, UNIVERSITY PARK, MD.

Crying Uncle in Iran?

I WAS PLEASANTLY SURPRISED TO READ JOE Klein's reference to Uncle Napoleons—elder Iranians who blame everything that happens in the world on Britain [July 6]. His comment that "the U.S. has supplanted Britain as the Great Satan," however, missed the mark. One of the great achievements of Britain, according to Uncle Napoleons, is that it has fooled the world into believing it no longer wields that much power, while in fact the U.S. is nothing more than Britain's attack dog. Try to convince them otherwise and they will treat you as the most naïve individual.

Hirbod Rashidi, LOS ANGELES

Generations of Michael Fans

MUCH IS MADE OF MICHAEL JACKSON'S effect on the MTV generation, but Jackson also changed the lives of boomers from the music-radio generation [Special Commemorative Edition, July 2009]. The opening chord of "I Want You Back" electrified our school playgrounds. Finally, after all the love songs aimed at teenyboppers, here was a boy our age singing directly to us. We'll never forget the moment Michael Jackson became our music.

Melissa Schelling, PAHOA, HAWAII

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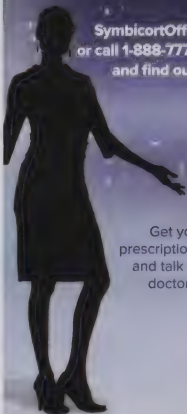


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Get your first prescription of
SYMBICORT
FREE!

Go to
SymbicortOffer.com
or call 1-888-777-4350
and find out how.



Get your first prescription free,* and talk to your doctor today.

Please see Important Safety Information about SYMBICORT on the following pages, and discuss with your doctor.

*\$0 copay if you have insurance. Subject to eligibility rules; restrictions apply.

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Symbicort

(budesonide/formoterol fumarate dihydrate) Inhalation Aerosol

With the help of **SYMBICORT**, I know my asthma is under control

9 It helps control my asthma symptoms day and night and starts opening my airways within 15 minutes.* Importantly, SYMBICORT won't replace a rescue inhaler for sudden symptoms.

And SYMBICORT combines two medicines to help control inflammation and constriction. So I'm breathing more freely, and that feels good to me.

**If your asthma symptoms keep coming back,
ask your health care professional if SYMBICORT
is right for you.**

*Your results may vary.



IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION

Prescription SYMBICORT is a controller medicine for the long-term maintenance treatment of asthma. SYMBICORT is for people 12 years and older whose doctor has decided are not well controlled on another asthma-controller medicine or who need two asthma-controller medicines. SYMBICORT is not for the treatment of sudden asthma symptoms.

SYMBICORT contains formoterol, a long-acting beta₂-agonist (LABA). Medicines containing LABAs may increase the chance of asthma-related death. So, SYMBICORT should be used only if your health care professional decides another asthma-controller medicine alone does not control your asthma or you need two controller medicines.

While taking SYMBICORT, never use another medicine containing a LABA.

SYMBICORT won't replace rescue inhalers for sudden asthma symptoms. Do not use SYMBICORT more than twice a day.

If you are taking SYMBICORT, see your health care professional if your asthma does not improve or gets worse.

Some people may experience increased blood pressure, heart rate, or change in heart rhythm. Tell your doctor if you have a heart condition or high blood pressure. If you are switching to SYMBICORT from an oral corticosteroid, follow your doctor's instructions to avoid health risks when you stop using oral corticosteroids.

Avoid exposure to infections such as chicken pox or measles. Tell your health care professional immediately if you are exposed. In clinical studies, common side effects included nose and throat irritation, headache, upper respiratory tract infection, sore throat, sinusitis, and stomach discomfort.


Please see Important Product Information on adjacent page and discuss with your doctor.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch, or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

**For more information, go to MySymbicort.com
or call 1-888-777-4350.**

*If you cannot afford your prescription,
AstraZeneca may be able to help.*

Symbicort[®]
(budesonide/formoterol fumarate dihydrate)
Inhalation Aerosol

AstraZeneca 

IMPORTANT INFORMATION ABOUT SYMBICORT

Please read this summary carefully and then ask your doctor about SYMBICORT.

No advertisement can provide all the information needed to determine if a drug is right for you or take the place of careful discussions with your health care professional. Only your health care professional has the training to weigh the risks and benefits of a prescription drug.

WHAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT INFORMATION I SHOULD KNOW ABOUT SYMBICORT?

- In patients with asthma, long-acting beta₂-agonist (LABA) medicines, such as formoterol (one of the medicines in SYMBICORT), may increase the chance of death from asthma problems. In a large asthma study, more patients who used another LABA medicine died from asthma problems, compared with patients who did not use that LABA medicine. Talk with your health care professional about this risk and the benefits of treating your asthma with SYMBICORT.
- SYMBICORT does not relieve sudden symptoms, so you should always have a fast-acting inhaler (short-acting beta₂-agonist medicine) with you. If you do not have this type of inhaler, talk with your health care professional to have one prescribed for you.
- Get emergency medical care if your breathing problems worsen quickly and your fast-acting inhaler does not relieve them.
- Do not stop using SYMBICORT unless your health care professional tells you to stop because your symptoms might get worse.

WHAT IS SYMBICORT?

SYMBICORT is an inhaled prescription medicine for long-term maintenance treatment, taken twice a day every day, to control asthma in patients 12 years and older. It will not replace your fast-acting inhaler for relief of sudden asthma symptoms.

SYMBICORT contains two medicines:

- Budesonide (the same medicine found in PULMICORT TURBUHALER® [budesonide inhalation powder], PULMICORT FLEXHALER™ [budesonide inhalation powder]), an inhaled corticosteroid medicine, or ICS. ICS medicines help to decrease inflammation in the lungs. Inflammation in the lungs can lead to asthma symptoms.
- Formoterol (the same medicine found in Foradil®. AEROLIZER® is a long-acting beta₂-agonist medicine, or LABA. LABA medicines help the muscles in the airways of the lungs stay relaxed to prevent asthma symptoms, such as wheezing and shortness of breath. These symptoms can happen when the muscles in the airways tighten, which, in severe cases, can cause breathing to stop completely if not treated right away.

WHO SHOULD NOT TAKE SYMBICORT?

You should NOT take SYMBICORT if your health care professional:

- decides that your asthma is well controlled using another asthma-controller medicine
- you only use a fast-acting inhaler less than twice a week

WHAT SHOULD I TELL MY HEALTH CARE PROFESSIONAL BEFORE USING SYMBICORT?

Tell your health care professional about all of your health conditions, including if you:

- have heart problems
- have high blood pressure
- have seizures
- have thyroid problems
- have diabetes
- have liver problems
- have been on an oral steroid, like prednisone
- have osteoporosis
- have an immune system problem or have been exposed to chicken pox or measles
- have tuberculosis or other infections
- are pregnant or planning to become pregnant because it is not known if SYMBICORT may harm your unborn baby
- are breast-feeding because it is not known if SYMBICORT passes into your milk and if it can harm your baby

Tell your health care professional about ALL the medicines you are taking, including all your prescription and nonprescription medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements.

SYMBICORT and certain other medicines may interact with each other and can cause serious side effects. So be sure to keep track of ALL the medication you take. You might want to make a list and show it to your health care professional, including your pharmacist, each time you get any new medicine, just to ensure there are no potential drug interactions.

HOW DO I USE SYMBICORT?

Do not use SYMBICORT unless your health care professional has carefully demonstrated how to do so. If you have any questions concerning the use of SYMBICORT, ask your health care professional.

SYMBICORT should be taken twice every day as prescribed by your health care professional.

SYMBICORT comes in two strengths. Your health care professional will prescribe the strength that is best for you.

When you use SYMBICORT, make sure you

- use SYMBICORT exactly as prescribed
- take two puffs of SYMBICORT in the morning and two puffs in the evening every day. If you miss a dose of SYMBICORT, you should take your next dose at the same time you normally do.
- do not take SYMBICORT more often or use more puffs than you have been prescribed
- rinse your mouth with water after each dose (two puffs) of SYMBICORT without swallowing
- do not change or stop any of the medicines you use to control or treat your breathing problems. Your health care professional will adjust your medicines as needed.
- always have a fast-acting inhaler with you. Use it if you have breathing problems between doses of SYMBICORT.

Seek emergency medical care if

- your breathing problems worsen quickly and your fast-acting inhaler does not relieve your breathing problems
- you experience any symptoms of a serious allergic reaction to SYMBICORT, such as a rash, hives, swelling of the face, mouth, tongue, and breathing problems

Contact your health care professional if

- you need to use your fast-acting inhaler more often than usual
- your fast-acting inhaler does not work as well for you at relieving symptoms
- you need to use four or more inhalations of your fast-acting inhaler for 3 or more days in a row
- you use up your entire fast-acting inhaler canister within 8 weeks
- your peak-flow meter results decrease. Your health care professional will tell you the numbers that are right for you
- your asthma symptoms do not improve after using SYMBICORT regularly for 1 week

WHAT MEDICATIONS SHOULD I NOT TAKE WHEN USING SYMBICORT?

While you are using SYMBICORT, do NOT use other medicines that contain a long-acting beta₂-agonist (LABA) for any reason, such as:

- Serevent® Diskus® [salmeterol xinafoate inhalation powder]
- Axair Diskus® or Advair® HFA [fluticasone propionate and salmeterol]
- Foradil® AEROLIZER® [formoterol fumarate inhalation powder]

WHAT ARE OTHER IMPORTANT SAFETY CONSIDERATIONS WITH SYMBICORT?

- Cardiovascular and central nervous system effects of LABAs, such as chest pain, increased blood pressure, fast or irregular heartbeat, tremor, or nervousness
- Immune system effects and a higher chance for infections
- Osteoporosis. People at risk for increased bone loss may have a greater risk with SYMBICORT
- Slowed growth in children. As a result, growth should be carefully monitored
- Eye problems, such as glaucoma and cataracts. Regular eye exams should be considered while using SYMBICORT

WHAT ARE OTHER POSSIBLE SIDE EFFECTS WITH SYMBICORT?

- Nose and throat irritation
- Headache
- Upper respiratory tract infection
- Sore throat
- Sinusitis
- Stomach discomfort
- Oral thrush

Tell your health care professional about any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away. These are not all the side effects with SYMBICORT. Ask your health care professional for more information.

NOTE: This summary provides important information about SYMBICORT. For more information, please ask your doctor or health care professional about the full Prescribing Information and discuss it with him or her.

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AstraZeneca

Briefing

THE WORLD SPOTLIGHT VERBATIM HISTORY

MILESTONES



The Moment

7/7/09: Los Angeles

AFTER SO MANY DAYS OF celebrity rubbernecking, Michael Jackson's memorial service in Los Angeles reminded us that it was a father, son, brother and friend who was suddenly gone, and the grief in the room was raw.

So there was consolation, in Lionel Richie's promise that "Jesus is love/ He won't let you down." There was confrontation, with mention of the rumors that death had not laid to rest: "Being judged, ridiculed—how much pain

can one take?" Michael's brother Marlon asked. Above all, there was community, created by the music Michael made and rendered by the artists he inspired.

That community now includes a new generation of fans who discovered Michael during these days of retrospection and rushed to download "Thriller" as their ringtone and call up his videos on YouTube. They had their representatives as well, in the form of the Jackson

children we had seldom seen before. His own childhood melted by fame, Michael tried obsessively to keep his sons and daughter from being burned by its glare. They didn't go to school; they appeared in public masked and

The spotlight at the memorial shines on Michael Jackson's children

veiled. And so it was almost a shock to see them, with the TV camera behaving cautiously at first, sweeping over them discreetly as they sat with their aunts and uncles and grandparents.

But as the hours went

by, the camera began to linger, seek the children out. And in the end, when everyone—performers and preachers and family—came onstage, we got to see them and, heartbreakingly, hear them as well. "Ever since I was born, Daddy has been the best father you can ever imagine," said Paris Michael Jackson, 11. "And I just wanted to say I love him so much." And then she fell into her aunt Janet's arms, leaving us to wonder, Was this what her father would have wanted? Had they finally escaped from isolation? Or had they, too, now been captured by a spotlight that, for him at least, became a prison all its own? —BY NANCY GIBBS ■

The World

10 ESSENTIAL STORIES



1 | Moscow

When Barack Met Dmitri

On his first trip to the Russian capital since taking office, President Obama and counterpart Dmitri Medvedev agreed to slash their nuclear stockpiles more than 25%, marking their lowest levels since the end of the Cold War. Obama hailed the pact, which requires ratification by the U.S. Senate, as a key step toward reducing the risk of nuclear proliferation in unstable nations such as Iran and North Korea. Less progress was made on the thorny issues of Georgia and a proposed U.S. missile-defense system in Eastern Europe. After a face-to-face with Prime Minister Vladimir Putin, Obama told a reporter he didn't "anticipate a meeting of the minds anytime soon." Obama departed for the G-8 summit in Italy on July 8 and planned a stop in Ghana before his return to Washington.

Estimated number of nuclear weapons per country, March 2009*	Russia	14,000	96% of the world's nuclear warheads are held by Russia and the U.S.
	France	10,550	
	China	300	
	Britain	241	
	Israel	200	
	Pakistan	80	
	India	60	
		50	

*SOURCE: SIPRI

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2 | Libya

An ICC Rebuke

African Union leaders jointly declared on July 3 that member states would defy the International Criminal Court's order to arrest Sudanese President Omar Hassan al-Bashir, who was charged in March with committing war crimes and crimes against humanity in Sudan's Darfur region. Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi, the A.U.'s chief, said the ICC, based in the Hague, represents a "new world terrorism" and blamed prosecutors for targeting the continent. Several African states, including Botswana, have expressed discomfort with the A.U. declaration and said they would uphold ICC orders.

3 | Washington

Don't Eat That

In an effort to curb the salmonella and *E. coli* outbreaks that have plagued the U.S. food supply, the White House announced tighter food-safety rules governing the



60%

Potential reduction in infections caused by eggs under new food-safety regulations

production of eggs, poultry, beef and produce. But while consumer groups touted the new regulations as a step in the right direction, analysts cautioned that the FDA's depleted workforce still won't be able to inspect more than a fraction of the country's 150,000 food-processing plants each year.



U.S. Marines and Afghan national army soldiers patrol the rugged Nawa district

4 | Afghanistan

Grim Statistics

Seven U.S. troops were killed in three separate attacks across Afghanistan on July 6, making it the deadliest day for American forces there in nearly a year. The casualties came as more than 4,000 Marines launched an offensive to drive insurgents from southern Helmand province, a Taliban stronghold. The tactic is the latest effort to shift U.S. military might from Iraq—where American soldiers withdrew from urban areas on June 30—to the nation now considered the key front in the war on terrorism.

5 | Tehran

Clerics Slam Election Results

A group of influential clerics denounced last month's disputed election as "illegitimate," in perhaps the clearest sign of deepening fault lines in the Iranian theocracy. President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's victory, which triggered massive protests, has been backed by Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei.

6 | Detroit

A Win for GM

It appears Cadillac will not be going the way of the Edsel, thanks to a federal bankruptcy judge's ruling that may save General Motors. The July 5 decision will let GM sell its best assets—including the Cadillac and Chevrolet brands—to a new company of which the U.S. government will have 60% ownership. The sale, opposed by some bondholders and consumer groups, could let the storied automaker emerge from bankruptcy in less than two months.

Numbers:

26

Number of websites shut down during a July 4 cyberattack, including those of several major U.S. and South Korean government agencies

43

Number of people recently killed in western India by home-brewed liquor, which is often spiked with pesticides or chemicals to increase its potency



7 | Honduras

IT'S NOT GOODBYE. IT'S SEE YOU LATER Eight days after he was expelled from Honduras in a military coup, President Manuel Zelaya attempted a dramatic return to his country—but his flight never touched down on home soil. At the behest of interim leader Roberto Micheletti, airport authorities denied Zelaya permission to land in Tegucigalpa on July 6. Tens of thousands of people rallied in support of the banished President, sparking clashes that killed two. Despite the showdown, Zelaya and Micheletti agreed on July 7 to participate in talks led by Costa Rican President Oscar Arias, an accomplished regional peacemaker. The Organization of American States suspended Honduras for Zelaya's ouster—it's most extreme sanction since excluding Cuba in 1962.

8 | Indonesia

Coasting to Victory

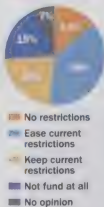
Exit polls indicated that incumbent Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono notched a decisive win in Indonesia's July 8 presidential election. More than 100 million people cast ballots in the world's most populous Muslim nation. Supporters laud Yudhoyono for fighting extremism and guiding the country through the global financial crisis.

9 | Washington

A Delicate Step Forward for Stem-Cell Research

In an effort to balance ethics and scientific advancement, the Obama Administration announced new guidelines for embryonic stem cells that could dramatically expand taxpayer-funded research. The rules, released on July 6 by the National Institutes of Health (NIH), allow federal spending to study existing stem-cell lines, provided the embryos were freely donated and meet other ethical requirements. Stem cells derived from human embryos can grow into a wide range of organs and tissues; scientists believe they hold great promise in curing diseases, though critics believe embryo destruction is morally wrong. President Obama, who promised during his campaign to boost federal stem-cell research, directed the NIH to loosen former President George W. Bush's research restrictions in March.

How should the Federal Government fund embryonic stem-cell research?



SOURCE: GALLUP Poll
 1/17/01-2/18/01; FEB. 20-22, 2004



Gay-rights activists rally in the eastern Indian city of Kolkata on July 5

10 New Delhi

A Watershed Gay-Rights Ruling

Gay India are no longer legally confined to the closet. In a landmark decision, New Delhi's highest court struck down a 150-year-old law that prohibited "carnal intercourse against the order of nature." Though it applies only to the nation's capital, the ruling is likely to prompt India's government to appeal to the Supreme Court or to change the law nationwide. Advocates say the decision could pave the way for better sex education in a country with one of the world's highest populations of people with HIV/AIDS.

★ | **What They're Selling in California:**

Millions of dollars' worth of IOUs—which the financially strapped state is issuing in lieu of cash as it grapples with a \$24 billion budget crisis—are appearing on websites like Craigslist, where opportunists are buying them at a discount so they can turn a profit when the IOUs come due on Oct. 2. Meanwhile, Bank of America, Wells Fargo and Chase agreed to accept the IOUs at face value through July 10. After that, recipients will have to go to check-cashing storefronts or credit unions, which will take them at a fraction of the full price.

\$155

Amount in government reimbursements that U.S. hospitals agreed to forgo over the next **BILLION** 10 years to defray health-care-reform costs

7,689

Number of U.S. motorists who died in highway accidents during the first three months of 2009—the lowest casualty tally since 1961

Spotlight:

China's Ethnic Riots



At the ready
Chinese policemen
stand back as a
Uighur woman
protests in Urumqi

DEADLY RIOTS
Some 20,000
government security
agents were deployed
to Urumqi after 156
people were killed

XINJIANG IS CHINA'S MOST exotic province. With a population of 20 million, it is three times the size of Texas and studded with mountains and deserts.

Uighurs, who are Muslim and of Turkic origin, are the single largest ethnic group in Xinjiang. But over the years, their culture has been threatened by a steady influx of Han Chinese. The result: resentment and unrest. The past decade has seen bombings by suspected

Holy place Han Chinese workers refurbish the grounds of the Id Kah Mosque in Uighur territory



DISCRIMINATION
Uighurs have fewer
job opportunities,
and their travel is
restricted

Uighur separatists and crackdowns by the Chinese authorities. At the time of last year's Beijing Olympics, an attack in the Xinjiang town of Kashgar killed 17 Chinese police officers. But the region's most serious outbreak of violence took place in its capital, Urumqi, over three days beginning July 5, when rioting left at least 156 people dead and more than 1,000 wounded.

Many Uighurs complain that they have become second-class citizens in their own homeland. Government authorities limit the number allowed to go on pilgrimage to Mecca. Teaching of the Uighur language, written in the Arabic script, has been curbed, and Uighurs face restrictions on their travel. "The Uighurs are the very bottom of the heap economically in



China," says Dru Gladney, an expert on Xinjiang at Pomona College in California.

Other parts of China are witnessing similar disaffection among angry young men. But Xinjiang is like Tibet in that it has a sizable non-Han population. Unrest in these two regions conjures up one of the Chinese leadership's worst nightmares: the rise of a separatist movement that would break up the country. Given the enormous economic and social challenges China faces, Beijing values stability above all and will do practically anything to maintain it.

Just as Beijing blamed the exiled Dalai Lama for masterminding protests in the Tibetan capital, Lhasa, last year (a charge he has strongly denied), China's official media said the violence in Urumqi was fomented by members of the World Uyghur Congress, a group based in Washington. Its head, Rebiya Kadeer, a Uighur entrepreneur who moved to the U.S. in 2005 after being jailed for five years by the Chinese, tells TIME, "I have nothing to do with the demonstrations."

The Chinese government seems determined to exert even tighter control over the lives of Uighurs. Yet this strategy has left them feeling trapped and desperate. If China doesn't rethink its policies, regions such as Xinjiang and Tibet might prove inhospitable for all—Uighur, Tibetan and Han Chinese alike. —BY SIMON ELEGANT/BEIJING AND AUSTIN RAMZY/URUMQI. WITH REPORTING BY BOBBY GHOSH/WASHINGTON

Face of a movement Uighur leader Kadeer denies fomenting tension in Xinjiang



Verbatim

'If I die, I die. So be it.'

SARAH PALIN, on risking her political future by announcing on July 3 that she would resign as governor of Alaska at the end of the month

'It is not a state secret that he wears Speedo swimming trunks. For goodness' sake, let's grow up.'

DAVID MILIBAND, British Foreign Secretary, defending Sir John Sawyers, the incoming head of MI6, the U.K.'s Secret Intelligence Service, after Sawyers' wife was assailed for posting photos and personal information on Facebook

'I'm not an enemy. I never was.'

AAFIA SIDDIQUI, a U.S.-trained Pakistani scientist accused of aiding al-Qaeda, addressing the court during a hearing in New York City

'You can. Go work for the Federal Government.'

CHARLES GRASSLEY, Iowa Senator, when asked at a town hall why most Americans can't receive the same quality of health insurance he enjoys

'Financiers must rediscover the genuinely ethical foundation of their activity.'

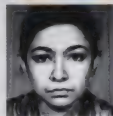
POPE BENEDICT XVI, calling for global economic reform in a July 6 encyclical

'Believe me, he knew. He kind of looked like a clown when I was talking to him.'

JIM INHOFE, an Oklahoma Republican, saying he meant no offense when he called a fellow Senator, Minnesota's Al Franken, a "clown"

'It was great shaking my hand today. I thoroughly enjoyed that.'

TIGER WOODS, after winning the AT&T National, a golf tournament that benefits his charitable foundation



Back & Forth:

Economy

'We misread how bad the economy was.'

Vice President **JOE BIDEN**, reacting to news that the national unemployment rate had reached 9.5%—the highest figure in 26 years—despite the Obama Administration's \$787 billion economic-stimulus package

'I would actually, rather than say misread—we had incomplete information.'

President **BARACK OBAMA**, countering that officials knew the recession was "going to be deep" and "going to last a while"

Media

'Our mistake was to suggest that we would hold and participate in an off-the-record dinner with journalists and power brokers paid for by a sponsor.'

KATHARINE WEYMOUTH, publisher of the Washington Post, after the newspaper sent out flyers advertising \$25,000 "sponsorships" for an exclusive salon at her home in which lobbyists could meet with White House officials and the Post reporters who cover them

'Even if this was just an unvetted marketing blunder, the Post's reputation has taken a huge hit.'

RICHARD LEIBY, acting arts editor at the Washington Post, on the incident's impact

LEXICON

Jailbreak v.—To hack an Apple iPhone to install unapproved software

USAGE: "In the never-ending cat-and-mouse game with Apple, iPhone hackers have been toiling away for weeks trying to jailbreak the iPhone 3GS, which went on sale in mid-June. On [July 3], a hacker who calls himself 'geohot' released the first jailbreaking software for the device." —Wall Street Journal, July 6, 2009

A Brief History Of:

Black Boxes



WHEN PLANES PLUMMET FROM THE SKY, AS A YEMENI airliner did on its way to the Comoros Islands in the Indian Ocean June 30, the mysterious, indestructible gadget known as the black box is the best bet for pinpointing what went wrong. So when a French submarine detected the device's homing signal five days later, the discovery marked a huge step toward determining the cause of a tragedy in which 152 passengers perished.

In 1958, Australian scientist David Warren developed the first prototype for a black box, which became a requirement on all U.S. commercial flights by 1960. Early models often failed to withstand crashes, however, so in 1965 the device was given a design overhaul and moved to the rear of the plane—the area least susceptible to impact—from its original position in the landing wells. That same year, the Federal Aviation Authority required that the boxes, which were never actually black, be painted orange or yellow to aid visibility.

Modern airplanes have two black boxes: a cockpit voice recorder, which tracks pilots' commentary, and a flight-data recorder, which monitors fuel levels, engine noises and other operating functions that help investigators reconstruct the aircraft's final moments. Nestled in an insulated case and surrounded by quarter-inch panels of stainless steel, the boxes can withstand massive force and temperatures up to 2000°F. When submerged, they're also able to emit signals from depths of 20,000 ft. Experts believe the boxes from Air France Flight 447, which crashed near Brazil on June 1, are in water nearly that deep, but statistics say they're still likely to turn up. In the approximately 20 deep-sea crashes over the past 30 years, only one plane's black boxes were never recovered. —BY CLAIRE SUDDATH

THE SKIMMER



Free: The Future of a Radical Price

By Chris Anderson
Hyperion; 274 pages

AS COMPANIES STRUGGLE to keep afloat in an age of abundance, Anderson posits a provocative solution: give your wares away gratis. An idea "as powerful as it is misunderstood," Free has become a multibillion-dollar business model tailor-made for the Internet economy. As digital-infrastructure costs approach zero, Anderson argues that Free often pays off, whether it involves giving away cell phones to hawk monthly plans or embracing piracy to spark demand for merchandise. He also explains how charging even a penny can scramble consumer psychology and sketches a blueprint for competing with juggernauts, like Google, that have harnessed the force of a unique digit—"the hole where the price should be, the void at the till." The editor in chief of *Wired* magazine and best-selling author of *The Long Tail*, Anderson capitalizes Free into a concept whose meaning sometimes crumples under his sweeping pronouncements. By his calculation, however, a flawed book remains a savvy bet—not least because the publicity will boost the author's brand on the lecture circuit.

—BY ALEX ALTMAN

BLACK-BOX PARTS

- 1 Audio compressor and computer interface
- 2 Memory module and recorder
- 3 Underwater locator beacon
- 4 Reflective tape to increase visibility

MYSTERIES SOLVED

- 1973 After Israel shoots down a Libyan Airlines plane that entered its airspace, recordings prove the pilot was unaware he had strayed, quashing a potential international dispute
- 1994 A black box reveals that an Aeroflot jet crashed because a pilot let his child fly the plane
- 2001 A device records the heroic efforts by United Flight 93 passengers to overpower Sept. 11 hijackers
- 2006 Two U.S. pilots are blamed for a deadly midair collision in Brazil until transcripts show they were instructed to fly at the wrong altitude

READ _____
SKIM _____
TOSS _____



MAKE MARKETS LIKE THESE A LITTLE LESS TAXING.

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Whiz kid The Secretary relaxes during a visit to Chu Lai, South Vietnam, on July 18, 1965

REMEMBRANCE

Robert McNamara.

Learning from a great manager's tragedy

BY LESLIE H. GELB

EVEN BEFORE ROBERT S.

McNamara left the Pentagon in early 1968, this man of absolute certainties about almost everything had begun to have nagging doubts about the Vietnam War, about what was widely known as "McNamara's war."

He even ordered a study—I was its director—of how the U.S. got involved in Vietnam, to try to explain what had happened. It came to be called the Pentagon Papers. And to show just how puzzling McNamara was, it's not clear that he ever read them. He lived long enough to see how terribly wrong he had been about the war and how much turmoil and tragedy it brought to Vietnam and the U.S. Now his life and his shadow torment us still, as our leaders contemplate modern

versions of Vietnam in Afghanistan and elsewhere. I suspect that any U.S.

President would have done what John F. Kennedy did and plucked McNamara from Ford, where he was president, to be Secretary of Defense. In his early 40s, he was already an icon. He was the ultimate manager, a man who could use facts and numbers and analyses to solve any problem, even to wage wars in places we had never heard of.

Yet don't think for a moment that McNamara started the Vietnam War. That was mainly the result of how U.S. leaders in the aftermath of World War II perceived the communist threat and thought about foreign policy. By the time McNamara got to Washington in 1961, the Cold War was blossoming, and along with it, the domino

theory. That theory, rooted in the run-up to World War II, held that it would be dangerous folly to let an aggressor snatch away little countries, be emboldened and then make world war. The aggressor had to be stopped wherever he was making the challenge. And in 1961, it seemed that place was Vietnam.

McNamara didn't know anything about Vietnam. Nor did the rest of us working with him. But Americans didn't have to know the culture and history of a place. All we needed to do was apply our military superiority and resources in the right way. We needed to collect the right data, analyze the information properly and come up with a solution on how to win the war. McNamara did just that until sometime in late 1965. Then he began to wonder, perhaps

because of the bad dreams he was having as American casualties mounted, whether the war could actually be won—no matter how smart we were. Then he began to understand that as long as we were in Vietnam and willing to fight and die, we could not lose—but also that we could not win, that the war was an open-ended stalemate.

Even as he had these doubts, he had no answers for them. He was not prepared to argue that we simply withdraw. America was bleeding, its cities were burning, and it was never clear to me exactly how McNamara connected this America with that war in Vietnam. In wartime, the Pentagon is the biggest bunker of all, aware of what's going on, but remote, cut off.

It is almost superhuman to expect one responsible for waging war to rethink its value and necessity. And so doubts simply float in the air without being translated into policy. Things get lost—critically important things—even from an experience as profound as the Vietnam War, even as we go deeper into new wars like Afghanistan. And as I now contemplate the departure of a life so central to my own and that of my country as Bob McNamara's, one overriding lesson bombards my mind: nationalist wars, civil wars, tribal and religious wars—they can never be won by Americans. As long as we're there and willing to fight and die, we won't lose. But in the end, we can't win either unless we realize that it must be their war—a war for the South Vietnamese to fight for their freedom and a war for Afghans to fight for theirs. We can help, but it must be theirs. ■

Gelb is president emeritus of the Council on Foreign Relations

Milestones



Karl Malden

HE HAD THE MOST PIERCING blue eyes, and you always had a sense of where you stood with him by looking into them. They shone either with warmth or with wariness, depending on the situation—and if you ever drifted down and looked at his busted-up nose, they grew very wary.

My first meeting with Karl, who died on July 1 at age 97, was in the office of the producer of *The Streets of San Francisco*, the '70s TV show. I had been recommended for a part, and Karl was giving me the once-over. My dad [actor Kirk Douglas] had worked with him on a summer-stock production, and he told me what a hard worker Karl was. That was an understatement. Karl came from the steel mills of Gary, Ind. He taught me to just how fortunate I was to be an actor.

Early on in his career, Karl recognized that he was not going to be the leading man. But he was intent on being the best second lead there was. He had so many wonderful roles, in films from *A Streetcar Named Desire*—for which he won an Oscar—to *On the Waterfront*.



He was an amazing reactor. For *San Francisco*, we were on location six days a week, and Karl used to pull me aside to work on our lines for the next week so that we would have them memorized for the first rehearsal.

He made actors around him better. Karl was a habitual teacher who prided himself on making everyone around him understand how to make the whole piece work. That has been one of the lasting lessons of my career.

Karl gave me opportunities I never would have had. He was my mentor. And he topped all this off with a wonderful sense of humor and a great, maniacal, cackling laugh. Karl always made me feel like I was the son he never had. I loved him and will miss him so.

—BY MICHAEL DOUGLAS



Steve McNair

ONE YARD. IF STEVE MCNAIR'S potentially game-tying pass in 2000 to Tennessee Titans wide receiver Kevin Dyson had just reached the end zone—and if the Titans had gone on to beat the St. Louis Rams in Super Bowl XXXIV—we'd be memorializing McNair, who was murdered at age 36 on

July 4, as an NFL legend. Instead, we'll recall the quarterback, who was reared in small-town Mississippi and drafted out of tiny Alcorn State (Miss.) University, as a supremely gifted workhorse who fought through injuries to patch together an outstanding 13-year career. And sadly,

what we'll most remember about Air McNair is the shocking way in which he died.

McNair seemed like a model citizen, a married father of four who was active on the Nashville charity circuit. But when he was found lying dead in his apartment next to his mistress, Sahel Kazemi, that happy portrait was cracked forever. McNair was shot four times; Kazemi also died from a gunshot wound. Authorities confirmed that the deaths were a murder-suicide committed by Kazemi.

At times during his NFL career, McNair was in so much pain that he couldn't practice. But come Sunday, he'd still suit up and gut out a win. He was a great athlete lost too soon and under unimaginable circumstances.

—BY SEAN GREGORY



DIED French tennis player **Mathieu Montcourt**, 24, who was ranked 119th in the world, had just begun a six-week suspension—for betting on matches in which he did not play—when he was found dead July 7 in Paris. The cause of death was not immediately known.



■ A renowned modernist painter, **Tyeb Mehta**, 84, made history at a 2005 auction when his *Mahisasura*, which depicts a goddess defeating a demon, sold for nearly \$1.6 million, the highest sum ever paid for the work of a living Indian artist.

■ **Mollie Sugden**, 86, was already a familiar face on British television, but her role as salesclerk Betty Slocombe on the 1970s BBC comedy *Are You*



Being Served? made her a star in the U.K. In the '90s, she gained popularity in the U.S. when reruns aired on PBS.

■ As publisher of the now defunct Philadelphia *Bulletin*, **Robert E.L. Taylor**, 96, oversaw what was one of the country's largest evening newspapers. In 1963 he was briefly jailed for refusing to reveal sources for a corruption story—an early test case in the battle over journalists' rights.

ANNOUNCED In an incursion into Microsoft's territory, **Google** revealed plans to release an operating system designed for PCs in 2010. The news came the same day the company removed the "beta" label from its Gmail application, which debuted in 2004.

MOVING ON After 39 years of counting down pop songs for adoring radio audiences, broadcaster **Casey Kasem**, 77, switched off his microphone on July 4.





James

Poniewozik

Goodbye, or See You Soon? Jackson gets a big, cathartic memorial—but that doesn't mean the media frenzy will end

THE MOST STRIKING STATEMENT AT Michael Jackson's memorial service was not his daughter Paris' tremulous and wrenching goodbye. It was not Berry Gordy's declaring Jackson "the greatest entertainer that ever lived," nor was it the Rev. Al Sharpton's assertion that Jackson's fame made a generation of white kids comfortable with electing a black President. It came before the encomiums and music began, after Motown singer Smokey Robinson took the stage, read testimonials from Diana Ross and Nelson Mandela, walked off—

And there was silence.

There was a long gap between Robinson's reading and the rest of the ceremony. The networks hesitated to step on the quiet with commentary. So for a minute or so, there was a TV rarity: an utter hush. Broadcast and cable news alike took a breath—for the first time, it seemed, in a week and a half—and let the darkened arena and the stilled crowd tell the story. It was an unintended tribute, and a blessed relief.

It says something about our media culture that it took a mammoth event held in a sports arena to demonstrate the power of a moment of quiet. Jackson's memorial was an outsize spectacle, befitting an entertainer who engaged the world through outsize spectacles. The performers and eulogizers were A list, the music anthemic, the casket gold plated. And yet the service was also cathartic and tasteful, especially compared with the media frenzy that preceded it.

Indeed, between the memories and

goodbyes, much of the memorial was about the media. A clip reel displayed tabloid headlines, and several speakers portrayed the singer as the victim of sensationalism. "Maybe now, Michael, they will leave you alone," his brother Marlon said. "Wasn't nothing strange about your daddy," Sharpton told Jackson's children. "It was strange what your daddy had to deal with."



People can debate whether that's true, whether Jackson was a victim, whether the media persecuted him during his child-molestation trials and other scandals or soft-pedaled his history after his death. But certainly in death, Jackson served the media the way he did in life: as a limitless draw for audiences. (And yes, I know I write this in a magazine that rushed out a special commemorative issue the weekend after Jackson died.)

Jackson was the most famous entertainer on earth; his sudden death was real news, huge news. His memorial 12 days later was a mammoth, global event. It was during the in-between, as it always is, that the coverage went into high-speed idling mode. For a good week, there was little news—about his estate, the toxicology tests, his final moments—so the talk became about how little news there was.

There were the prime-time specials, the morning-show reports, the commentators and endless clichés. (He was a barrier breaker, a chameleon, a Peter Pan—I've used some of those myself.)

Given the big ratings, clearly not everyone thinks the coverage is too much. The traffic on Twitter showed that the public was generating its own Jackson media. That's the easy media defense: People want it! To paraphrase Michael, we can't stop 'til you get enough.

But that ignores the effect journalists' choices have on what people want. The media don't brainwash people into wanting MJ 24/7; millions deeply loved him.

But once a news frenzy gets momentum, it becomes its own justification. The spectacle becomes the reason for the spectacle. It becomes The Thing That Everyone Is Talking About.

And the media are as susceptible to this as anyone. Journalism isn't a single-minded monolith that decides what to foist on the public. It's a collection of individuals, who are just as easily affected by the feedback loop, while feeding into it.

Jackson's farewell service was, in a sense, a rerun. For days, TV had been cycling the same clips, remembering the same songs; some speakers had been on TV sharing the same thoughts. Yet hearing brother

Jermaine deliver "Smile," Michael's favorite song, to a crowd whose hearts were breaking had an entirely different effect than Jermaine's singing it to Matt Lauer. Hearing Gordy recall Michael's childhood audition was more moving than the dozens of bio reels that had sought the same response.

The news is a poor vehicle for catharsis; it thrives on maintaining tension, not relieving it. And a memorial is a poor medium for objective assessment, which we needed after Jackson's death, and will need if and when there is more news in its aftermath. But in a perfect world, it would provide the media with an end point, a reason to pause and move on.

At this time, though, it doesn't look like that has happened. The showman is gone, but the show—as his life proved, for better or worse—goes on. ■

It says something about our media culture that it took a mammoth event held in a sports arena to demonstrate the power of a moment of quiet



Joe

Klein

Hard Choices. Why Obama needs to get tougher on his domestic agenda—and come clean on taxes

BARACK OBAMA HAS BEEN PRESIDENT for six months now, and we are beginning to learn a few things about how he does business. The most surprising of these is that he is a vehement traditionalist, a small-c conservative, despite his opponents' best efforts to paint him as a radical. In foreign policy, this has meant a return to traditional diplomatic devices—treaties, alliances, negotiation, a global strategic vision—after the ad hoc, go-it-alone bellicosity of his predecessor. No less a high priest than Henry Kissinger recently called Obama a "chess player," which is high praise in the world of diplomacy. In domestic policy, however, it has meant an undue respect for the institution of Congress, a sclerotic body badly in need of creative leadership. This is leading Obama into trouble.

It is likely to be an ugly summer of sausage-grinding in Washington. Obama's two biggest domestic policy proposals—health-care reform and alternative energy—will be pulverized and reshaped by the Senate. The end products may be unsightly and counterproductive, if passed. A third initiative—a relatively modest regulatory reform of the financial system—is being chewed to dust by the termite lobbyists of the banking industry. A fourth initiative—the effort to buy off the banking system's "toxic" assets—is languishing, near comatose, because of the bankers' intransigence.

The fact is, Obama may be blowing a major opportunity for reform with his domestic-policy diffidence. He came

It will take relentless focus to sell health reform and solve the continuing economic crisis. That will not leave much time for climate change this year

to office faced with an unprecedented economic crisis, and he focused on it successfully during his first 100 days, giving two excellent speeches about the need for a stimulus plan and general economic reform. He has lost that focus as his other initiatives have come online; he has failed to speak with precision or clarity about the bills wandering through Congress. He has failed to make clear what



needs to be in those bills—and what can't be—if he is going to sign them. He also needs to update the public on his stimulus plan, especially now that his Vice President inadvertently dissed it. And he needs to make a direct assault on the greedheads who created the Ponzi economy and are now trying to gut his plan to make them do business honestly.

This was never going to be easy. The past 30 years have created a crimped, big C Conservative playing field when it comes to public policy. Congress cringes at the hard stuff, especially anything that can be labeled a tax or a regulation. To make things more difficult, the public doesn't consider health or energy reforms as crucial as the President (rightly) does. Most people are happy with their health insurance, although they're worried about losing it. And they are not clear

about the sacrifices necessary to address climate change—or the national-security issues raised by our dependence on oil provided by some of the more disgraceful governments in the world.

If Obama is to succeed with his domestic-policy agenda, he needs to convince people that action is necessary on these abstruse issues. He is going to have to demand clear, comprehensible solutions from Congress, and he is going to have to admit what most civilians know in their gut: that a price must be paid for a better, more secure health-care system and action on climate change. This will be easier with the more immediate issue, health-insurance reform. There are compromises that can be made—and Obama should admit that John McCain's plan to tax employer-provided health benefits, at least for wealthier Americans, was a good idea and include it.

It will take relentless focus to sell health reform and solve the continuing economic crisis. That will not leave much time for climate change, at least not this year—and that is a good thing, because the Waxman-Markey energy bill passed by the House is an excellent candidate for euthanasia. It is a demonstration of all that's wrong with the legislative process in latter-day America. There

is a simple solution to this problem: a carbon tax to discourage people from using fossil fuels. That tax could be immediately refunded in the form of lower payroll taxes. But the House Democrats, still playing by Reagan-era ground rules, were too frightened to go there: they proposed instead a weak, inelegant cap-and-trade system of the sort that has provided precious little carbon reduction in Europe. It is Potemkin legislation, designed to give only the appearance of dealing with a problem.

Obama wants to be a transformative President. To do that, he must transform the terms of debate—and the greatest impediment to change is the nation's crippling, 30-year tax allergy. He cannot finesse this. He needs to take these issues one at a time, make his argument clearly and hope that the public is finally ready for the sacrifices that make real progress possible. ■



Crisis calls McChrystal is glued to his phone shortly after the June 29 killing of the Kandahar police chief and five associates by a shadowy Afghan militia force



Starting Anew

The Afghan war is going badly, and Stan McChrystal wants to fight it differently. He doesn't have much time

BY MARK THOMPSON/WASHINGTON
AND ARYN BAKER/KABUL

THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Kabul looks more like a college campus than the nerve center of a military operation involving more than 90,000 troops from 41 countries, its staff officers roaming the halls in each nation's distinct patterns of camouflage. On July 3, on a wooden deck at the back of his office in the compound, shaded by trees and a garden umbrella, U.S. Army General Stanley McChrystal, who recently became ISAF's commander, and that of U.S. forces in Afghanistan, sat down to discuss his new role. Tall, lanky and earnest, with the loping stride of a long distance runner—McChrystal runs 10 miles before his morning coffee—the general went to Afghanistan after a top job with the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington. He knows Afghanistan well. The conflict there, McChrystal told TIME, is a “tough war, a very tough war.”

That it most certainly is. In October it will have been eight years since U.S. forces first went into combat in Afghanistan against al-Qaeda and its local supporters in the Taliban. That makes the war there the second longest (after Vietnam) in U.S. history. More than 1,200 coalition troops have died in Afghanistan; some 730 of the dead were American, but other nations have suffered too. Britain has lost 175 soldiers in the conflict, and Canada 124. And the deaths in uniform are the easy ones to count: they do not encompass the thousands of Afghan villagers who have been killed by the Taliban or by errant coalition actions. Last year alone, 828 civilians were killed by U.S., allied or Afghan troops, 552 of them in air strikes.

It is precisely because so many Afghans have been killed that the war is, in effect, starting anew. McChrystal's task is to recalibrate the war effort so local people can see that the coalition's actions increase their security, in turn allowing them to get on with their lives. Up to now, the deaths of Afghans in the fighting have done little to aid the allies and a lot to turn locals against foreign forces and the government of President Hamid Karzai, which those forces sustain. This is a place—as British and Russian armies discovered and were sent packing after their discoveries—where the waters of vengeance run deep. “If the Americans kill an Afghan father, the son will take revenge and pick up a gun and will stand against foreigners,” says Abdul Qadir, 38, who runs a shoe-shine business on a Kabul street. “People hate Americans,” echoes Ezatullah, a driver from the town of Maidan Shahr, “because they kill innocent people.”



Pushing south Marines from the 2nd Expeditionary Brigade clear a village in southern Helmand province.





Their goal: to protect the population while cutting off the opium-trafficking that funds Taliban operations

To drain the hatred and give Afghanistan the room to build institutions and an economy that just might, one day, heal the wounds of 30 years of war, President Barack Obama and his generals are shifting strategies. Their new doctrine emphasizes protecting the Afghan people over killing insurgents. "What we really want is the equivalent of a peaceful take-over, where the Taliban are forced out," McChrystal told *TIME*. Three days later, the general issued a "tactical directive" to ISAF forces reinforcing the point: "We will not win based on the number of Taliban we kill," McChrystal wrote, "but instead on our ability to separate insurgents from the people." To that end, the directive explicitly enjoined force leaders "to scrutinize and

limit the use of force like close air support against residential compounds and other locations likely to produce civilian casualties." In truth, the new policy was already being applied: on July 2, nearly 4,000 Marines and 650 Afghan troops stormed into Helmand province in southern Afghanistan aboard helicopters and armored vehicles. But within hours, the Marines issued a statement declaring they had "not used artillery... and no bombs have been dropped from aircraft" in the offensive's opening thrust. You know a war has turned topsy-turvy when U.S. Marines brag about the weapons they're not using.

The change in tactics and command (on June 15, McChrystal was brought in to replace Army General David McKiernan,

who had led ISAF since June 2008) was necessitated by a grim truth. The war in Afghanistan is not going well. The Taliban, funded in large measure by the opium trade, which is centered in Helmand, now controls wide swaths of Afghanistan. Over the past four months, a recent U.N. report says, the number of "assassinations, abductions, incidents of intimidation and the direct targeting of aid workers" has been higher than last year. Increasing numbers of foreign fighters—"most likely affiliated with al-Qaeda"—are fighting alongside the Taliban. "There is no question but that the situation has deteriorated over the course of the past two years," General David Petraeus, who as chief of U.S. Central Command oversees the wars in both Afghanistan and Iraq, said recently.

The Second Afghan War

THE OFFENSIVE IN HELMAND IS THE FIRST step in what has become America's second Afghan war. The Marines have met little resistance, although U.S. deaths spiked elsewhere in the country. On July 6, seven U.S. troops were killed outside Helmand—the highest daily toll in nearly a year. Using an age-old strategy, the insurgents seem to have melted away when pressured, only to pop up and attack elsewhere. In Helmand, U.S. troops will set up small outposts instead of pulling back when the operation is done. They'll live near the locals and offer protection in advance of Afghanistan's Aug. 20 presidential election. Then McChrystal's forces and civilian advisers will begin trying to build economic and governmental institutions.

Terrorism and the illicit drug trade have flourished in Afghanistan because the lack of a functioning economy has let warlords fill the vacuum. That needs to change. The U.S. recently announced, for example, that it is shifting its antipoppy efforts from destroying the opium-producing flowers to encouraging different crops. But that's quite a challenge: poppies are easy to grow and net four times as much money per acre as wheat. So farmers will need new cash crops to replace the poppies and newly built roads to get such goods to market without paying bribes along the way. The best soldiers in the world can't manage every step of that process, which is why Karl Eikenberry, the new U.S. ambassador in Kabul and a retired Army lieutenant general who served twice in Afghanistan, says, "The military can help set the conditions for success. But it is not sufficient for success."

That said, without the military doing its bit, there will be no success to measure. So part of the Obama Administration's

strategy is to increase the number of U.S. troops in Afghanistan, from 57,000 now to 68,000 by the fall. The extra troops should help bring security to parts of Afghanistan that lack it, but McChrystal is clear that security alone is but a means to an end. "The point of security," he says, "is to enable governance ... My metric is not the enemy killed, not ground taken: it's how much governance we've got." Decent governance, the thinking goes—providing the rule of law and economic opportunity—will persuade those who take up arms because they have no other economic alternative to stop fighting. And those who don't use words like *governance* agree. "If people have work," says Mohammad Ismael, a 58-year-old Kabul resident, "I don't think they will fight."

Unshocked, Unawed

THE NEW STRATEGY, WITH ITS LIMITS on actions that risk civilian casualties, represents a sea change in U.S. military doctrine. It was only six years ago that Air Force General Richard Myers, then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, predicted that a shock and awe strategy would bomb Saddam Hussein's Iraq into submission. That—and the tech-heavy force that then Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld sent into Iraq to stumble and falter for four years—hewed to the American way of war, one that was equal parts laser beams and hubris. But the military has rethought its strategy. "You can shock and awe human beings," McChrystal says, "but it doesn't last. I've seen operations where kinetic strikes would go in on a target, and the enemy would come out shooting. They weren't awed."

Instead of relying on brute force, McChrystal has to find more subtle ways of dealing with an Afghan insurgency that grows out of a patchwork of motivations based on tribal allegiances, Islamic fundamentalism and the strategies of warlords eager to keep what has been theirs for generations. "I am not sure," McChrystal says, "there are two different people out there with the same reason for the fight." He has to untangle the various threads in this skein and then determine what action—economic development, strong government, death—works best in each case.

And he has to be a diplomat too. Perhaps the most important military action in the region isn't happening in Afghanistan but across the border in Pakistan. Afghanistan and Pakistan, McChrystal says, are "unique situations that are linked inextricably." Islamabad's fitful offensive against the Taliban in Pakistan has successfully drained resources from the Taliban in Af-



Shopping for friends McChrystal visits a village market in volatile Kandahar province. If he can't make these



Cadet to command McChrystal, above, graduated from West Point in 1976; 33 years later, he meets with Obama to discuss a new Afghanistan strategy



ghanistan. "Money is drying up," Colonel John Spitzer, commander of the 3rd Brigade Combat Team, 1st Infantry Division, along the border, said on June 23. Over the past year, the going prices for guns and ammo "have almost doubled," he noted. "That's a great sign." Such pressure on safe havens in Pakistan will reduce hit-and-run attacks across the border.

But however much the Pakistanis help, McChrystal does not have an easy job. He concedes that Afghanistan's current security forces—86,000 soldiers and 82,000 national police—aren't enough to protect the country. And U.S. commanders have made it clear that even with reinforcements in the pipeline, they don't have enough troops to run a full-fledged



oppress' lives better, his forces won't prevail

counterinsurgency campaign. That is one reason U.S. commanders came to rely on airpower, which only perpetuated a feedback loop that made the job of winning trust among Afghans even harder.

Long Career, Fresh Eyes

IN WASHINGTON THERE HAD BEEN A SENSE for months that the Afghan train was off the track and that McKiernan—an able armor officer—wasn't the right fit. On May 11, Defense Secretary Robert Gates, with Obama's blessing, tapped McChrystal for the Afghan post, saying "fresh eyes" were needed on the war.

McChrystal's official career is 33 years long, but he has, in effect, been in the Army for all his 54 years—both his father and paternal grandfather were Army officers, his father making it to two-star general. After graduating from West Point in 1976—31 years after his father—McChrystal climbed the Army ladder. He's seen some tragedies. In 1994, McChrystal was a lieutenant colonel with the 82nd Airborne Division when a flaming F-16 jet plowed into a parked C-141 at Pope Air Force Base.

The cargo plane's 55,000 gallons of jet fuel erupted into a massive fireball, killing 18 of McChrystal's troops as they prepared for parachute jumps on a sunny North Carolina afternoon.

Asked about the incident, McChrystal pauses for nine seconds, his mood shifting from animated to muted. "We sent our own paratroopers to bury each of our own killed," he says, saying the tragedy taught him the importance of teamwork. Others say it showed his leadership. McChrystal and his wife Annie attended all the funerals and memorial services. "That was real moral courage," says Dan McNeill, who was McChrystal's commander at the time and who later ran the war in Afghanistan. "I don't know if I could have done that."

In between stints with various special-operations units, McChrystal pulled tours at the Council on Foreign Relations and Harvard. Before coming to the Pentagon, he spent 2003 to 2008 heading up the Joint Special Operations Command, the secret corps of Army Delta Force and Navy Seals based at Fort Bragg in North Carolina, although McChrystal deployed regularly to its forward post inside Iraq. In 2006 his unit succeeded in tracking down and killing Abu Mousab al-Zarqawi, the leader of al-Qaeda in Iraq. McChrystal's record has not been without controversy. After the 2004 death by friendly fire of former NFL player and Army Ranger Pat Tillman in Afghanistan, Pentagon investigators said McChrystal provided information that misleadingly suggested Tillman died at the enemy's hands when recommending him for the Silver Star. But the Army decided that McChrystal had "no reasonable basis" for second-guessing officers who drafted the recommendation.

Fit as a tuning fork, McChrystal has a certain monkish mythology about him that his aides seem keen to foster. In Afghanistan, they say, he gets up at 4 a.m. to run and e-mail before his workday really begins with an 8:30 video briefing with his regional commanders across the country. His iPod and Kindle (the newest model) are stocked by his wife with serious tomes on Pakistan, Lincoln and Vietnam. Right now, he is reading William Maley's 2002 book *The Afghanistan Wars*, a catalog of the long list of foreign failures in Afghanistan. McChrystal famously eats little during the day, recently only picking at an Afghan spread featuring four kinds of meat. To the chagrin of Afghans, who see drinking tea as an inalienable human right, he scrapped a morning tea break at a recent security briefing in Kandahar, and aides grumble, nicely, that he sees others' demands for lunch as a sign of weakness. (But he makes up for it at dinner: a col-

league says a typical evening repast may include a cheeseburger, a fajita burrito, a pile of fries and ice cream. And maybe a brownie.) And if it weren't for uniforms and the help of his wife, he wouldn't have a clue what to wear. His tenor voice is soft, but his gaze—fixed on his target—can make subordinates squirm. If he takes off his glasses, says an aide, "you know you're in trouble."

Watching in Washington

MILITARY POLICY IN AFGHANISTAN IS NOW in the hands of this likable and very, very focused soldier. An Administration and a nation are waiting to see if his plan is any better than the one it replaced. Time is in short supply. Some in Washington are leery of Afghanistan's becoming another Vietnam. Representative David Obey, the Wisconsin lawmaker who chairs the powerful Appropriations Committee, said in May he's giving the White House a year to show progress—however defined—in Afghanistan. But at his confirmation hearing, McChrystal said he expects it will take 18 to 24 months to see whether things are turning around, and talking to TIME, he was clear that it will take even longer than that to make "permanent progress."

Success is by no means assured. McChrystal's order to keep Afghan civilian casualties low, for example, may be politically savvy, but in the short term it can be militarily fraught. Before the Helmand offensive began, U.S. troops called in an air strike on a compound after coming under fire from it. A number of civilians died, and McChrystal was not pleased. "I want you all to stop dropping compounds," he quietly told the 100 members of his staff gathered inside his command center and others linked via video. "Yes, sir," responded the commander involved. Three days later, when troops in Helmand came under fire from such a compound, they followed his order. "We made the decision to isolate the compound and not destroy it," a Marine captain said, "because we couldn't confirm if civilians were inside."

The good news is that the compound wasn't bombed, no civilians were killed and no additional measure of poison was added to the bitter brew that has turned Afghans against the U.S. and its allies. The bad news is that the insurgents escaped from the compound before U.S. forces had a chance to secure it. The Marines call the need to tolerate the frustration of such incidents "tactical patience." Just how patient Americans and their Commander in Chief will turn out to be with Stan McChrystal's new way of fighting the Afghan war remains to be seen. —WITH REPORTING BY ALI SAFI/KABUL



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**Liberty
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Who Needs Charisma?

In the U.S., leaders are expected to look great, sound great and be inspiring. In other countries—not so much

BY MICHAEL ELLIOTT

LEADERSHIP, TO AMERICANS, IS A FAMILIAR CONCEPT. GO into any bookstore, and the number of tomes with the word in the title—*Total Leadership*, *The Leadership Code*, *Leadership for Dummies* (of course)—can make you think it has replaced dieting as a way to move merchandise. Listen to politicians' stump speeches, and it will be seconds before you hear them extol their unique leadership qualities.

But leadership, at least in the way that it's understood in the U.S., is not an idea—or even a word—that travels very well. It's remarkably hard to convey in French, while Germans routinely go through linguistic contortions to avoid reminding themselves that the natural translation of *leader* is *Führer*.

A century ago, Max Weber, the great German sociologist, fa-

mously divided sources of authority into three types: the traditional, the charismatic and the legal-bureaucratic. Americans like their leaders to be charismatic—a word derived from the Greek that means a person has a gift of grace. Political parties routinely look for presidential candidates with charisma (Barack Obama, naturally) and regret it when they don't find one (think Michael Dukakis).

Charismatic leaders, Weber argued, inspire devotion; they are change agents. But not every society wants or needs charismatic leaders, and some have reason to shun them. The Big Men of Africa and the caudillos of Latin America have often been charismatic, and their gift to their people was not grace but authoritarianism. So can you be a leader without charisma? Sure. Just follow these tips.

Nicolas Sarkozy
Handsome, dark-haired, with a fashion-plate wife—he's almost American!

Tony Blair As a young man, the fresh-faced former British Prime Minister was a hit in the U.S.

DON'T WORRY ABOUT YOUR LOOKS It's what you do that counts

Since JFK, who has a lot to answer for when it comes to the overvaluation of charisma, Americans have liked their leaders to be handsome or heroic, preferably with a thatch of dark hair and a trim waistline. It doesn't always work (otherwise Mitt Romney would be in the White House) but it does mean that it's not surprising that two of the foreign leaders who have most made an impression in the U.S. are the young Tony Blair and French President Nicolas Sarkozy. (And Sarkozy—to add to the JFK

meme—has the extra advantage of a fashion-plate wife.)

But good looks and 25c will get you a phone call. Australia has a higher proportion of naturally rugged men than any other country on Earth, but combined, its two most recent Prime Ministers, John Howard and Kevin Rudd, have the sex appeal of a church mouse. Who cares? Both have made tough calls—Howard to back the U.S. through thick and thin after 9/11, Rudd to apologize for the treatment of Australia's Aborigines—and they've been stewards of one of the world's longest-lasting economic booms.

Besides, a certain homely



style can make your adversaries underestimate you. German Chancellor Angela Merkel may look like a typical hausfrau, but don't cross her. "She's ruthless," says a political insider in Berlin. "She doesn't just sideline her opponents; she destroys them."

REMEMBER WHO AND WHAT YOU LEAD

Different situations require different styles Ban Ki-moon, the U.N. Secretary-General, was subject to a bitter attack in *Foreign Policy* magazine recently for "frittering away influence" at a time when "global leadership is urgently needed." But Tim Wirth, president of the U.N. Foundation, argues that Ban's critics miss the point. The U.N., Wirth says, is not a vertical institution

but a horizontal one, with 192 nation-states acting as shareholders. Ban can't tell the U.N.'s members—or even its agencies—what to do. He has to negotiate and coordinate, find a consensus. He manages to do that, Wirth says, by "keeping his own sense of ego out of the line of fire." Ban himself expresses pleasure that he has been able to lead the U.N. to take climate change seriously. But he is much more comfortable talking about his role in terms of "bridging the developed and developing countries" than in the straightforward language of leadership.

When leaders understand the nature of their

followers, they can get away with an awful lot. My friend Beppe Severgnini, a columnist at *Corriere della Sera*, says Italians forgive Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi's many—how shall we put this?—lapses in judgment because they think, He's one of us. Berlusconi, Severgnini wrote this year, is "not only Italy's head of government, but the nation's autobiography." By contrast, when a leader gets out of sync with her followers, all the brilliance in the world doesn't amount to much. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher found that out in 1990, when her colleagues in the British government and Conservative Party simply got tired of the endless drama over Thatcher's European policy and dumped her.

THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS IS OVERRATED

A good speech may get you on YouTube. But that's all A speech by Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, it has been said, is a natural remedy for sleep disorders. During a raucous debate on a vote of confidence in the Indian Parliament last year, Singh's closing speech was so subdued that it was drowned out by the opposition. Singh folded up his notes and just submitted the rest of his remarks for the record.

Still, he won the vote and then a sweeping victory in India's general elections this year. It isn't Singh's speeches that win him followers; it's the fact that first as Finance Minister and since 2004 as Prime Minister, he has led India through a series of

Manmohan Singh

The Indian leader's speeches will put you to sleep, but he's improved the lives of millions

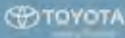
Ban Ki-moon

He has his critics, but the self-effacing U.N. Secretary-General is an ace consensus builder

Kevin Rudd

Not a lot of sex appeal, but who cares? The Australian Prime Minister takes on tough issues





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radical economic reforms that have made the world's largest democracy also one of its fastest-growing economies—and protected the poor too. It's Singh's actions that have changed tens of millions of lives for the better, not his words.

Helmut Kohl could relate. In the 1980s, Germans used to make fun of their Chancellor for his thick Rhineland accent and stumbling speeches. But when more-elegant and eloquent statesmen were dithering after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, Kohl seized the moment. He propelled East and West Germany to unification within a year, while others thought that unification, if it happened at all, was a distant prospect. It was

Kohl's decisiveness that made him a leader, not his honeyed tone.

PERSISTENCE PAYS OFF

Try, try and try again

It was Winston Churchill who once enjoined an audience to "never give in; never, never, never give in," and he knew whereof he spoke. Churchill spent the 1930s in the political wilderness, warning of the need to rearm against the Nazi threat, and was treated as a bit of a joke by smaller men.

Michael Mandelbaum of the School of Advanced International Studies at

Helmut Kohl

He had an accent and a stumbling style, but the former German Chancellor made the big decisions

Johns Hopkins University says resistance in the face of adversity is a key quality in a leader. He cites Thatcher, whose sheer bloody determination saw off a hostile intelligentsia, a party that sometimes treated her with all the condescension the British once reserved for clever women, and entrenched interests that fought her economic and social reforms. Before he became Prime Minister in 1996, Australia's Howard had been turfed out as leader of his own party, and when asked if he might ever lead it again, he said such an event would be like "Lazarus with a triple bypass." Howard then went on to win four general elections.

Wirth praises Ban Ki-moon for the same qual-

ity of persistence. The U.N., Wirth says, gets dumped with the problems that great powers can't solve, like nudging the regime in Burma into improving its miserable human-rights record or bringing peace to Darfur in southern Sudan, where bitter fighting raged for years. The U.N. had long been unable to come to any consensus on how to handle Darfur, with deep divisions in the Security Council about whether and how to send a peacekeeping force there. Wirth praises Ban's diplomatic skills in finally getting Security Council approval for a joint U.N.-African Union peacekeeping force for the region.

TAKE RESPONSIBILITY

Leadership means you don't duck when things go wrong

Young or old, handsome or plain, quiet or loud—the surest way to win followers is to convince them that when the going gets tough, you won't run and hide. There's a reason Harry Truman's White House desk sign, THE BUCK STOPS HERE, has entered presidential mythology.

But my favorite example of leadership as responsibility is a memo that was never sent. The day before the D day landings in 1944, Dwight Eisenhower—not much obvious charisma there—sat down and wrote a short message that would be made public in the event that the next day went horribly wrong. "Our landings in the Cherbourg-Havre area have failed to gain a satisfactory foothold," Ike wrote, "and I have withdrawn the troops. My decision to attack at this time and place was based upon the best information available. The troops, the air and the navy did all that bravery and devotion to duty could do. If any blame or fault attaches to the attempt, it is mine alone."

That's leadership. ■

Margaret Thatcher

Britain's former leader was a battler but was dumped when she lost touch with her followers

Angela Merkel

Forget those kindly looks. Opponents know the German Chancellor can be ruthless





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Way Out on the Frontier. Sarah Palin's outsider politics takes her on the road less traveled. But where is she going?

BY DAVID VON DREHLE AND JAY NEWTON-SMALL/DILLINGHAM

SARAH PALIN IS THAT MOST EXOTIC of American creatures: an Alaska original, raised and ripened in an environment remote, extreme, unfamiliar—and free. A land of self-invention, where no one bats an eye at a mom deckhand-governor whatever comes next. Ever since John McCain introduced his running mate last year, Palin has been like a modern-day version of the captive specimens hauled back to Europe by explorers of old. Like Squanto in London, she speaks the language—if not always the idiom—of the audiences she fascinates. But she remains, on some level, unknowable.

This outsider quality is easy to ignore when you see her in full dazzle on a convention stage, but it comes into focus should you find her in her habitat. After announcing plans on July 3 to resign as governor after just 2½ years, Palin retired to her in-laws' place in Dillingham, a tiny fishing village in southwestern Alaska, reachable only by boat or plane. TIME caught up to her there. It was salmon season, and thick fillets, red from the smokehouse, were drying on a line strung from a nearby tree. Husband Todd

Palin was chopping wood and feeding it into a homemade sauna, the kind that native fishermen—like him—sweat themselves clean in after a day on Bristol Bay. He likes it hot—190°F to 200°F (about 90°C to 95°C)—but that's too much for Sarah. Daughter Piper hovered over her baby brother Trig, who shares a name with one of the volcanoes on the far side of the water. Flat land, flat water, distant mountains. You can see for miles but not far enough to spot the nearest town.

Could there be a less likely venue in which to ask a woman in a blue T-shirt—GO SLAM A SALMON, it reads—about her plans to run for President? And yet this was the place where her answer finally made sense. It included none of the strange ramblings of her televised resignation speech, which managed, in pure Palin style, to be both plainspoken and inscrutable. For example: "Take the words of General MacArthur. He said, 'We are not retreating. We are advancing in another direction.'" And "Do you want me to make a positive difference and fight for all our children's future from outside the governor's office?"

With salmon and wood smoke fragrant in the endless summer evening, amid wet

New direction

Palin plans to stump for "people who can effect change." A 2012 presidential run is anyone's guess

socks and waders and red rubber fishing gloves, Palin tells *TIME*, "I cannot predict what's going to happen. I don't know what doors will be open or closed by then. I was telling Todd today, I was saying, 'Man, I wish we could predict the next fish run so that we know when to be out on the water.' We can't predict the next fish run, much less what's going to happen in 2012."

In Washington, where even a flat no can mean maybe, this answer will almost certainly be taken to mean "Yes, she's running," heedless of the widely spouted view that she blew her chance with the decision to quit her current job. Left, right and center, pundits opined on the lightness of Palin's résumé and her vanished chance to beef it up. How could she seek a promotion when she didn't finish the job she had? Even a fan like columnist Fred Barnes, writing in the pro-Palin *Weekly Standard*, declared glumly, "Forget about Sarah Palin as the Republican presidential candidate in 2012 and probably ever."

In Alaska, though, her answer could mean exactly what it says—that she doesn't yet know what she'll be doing in 2012. Here, you make each day from the materials at hand. "My intention" in the coming months, she said in her resignation speech, "is to go out and to campaign for people who can effect change all across our nation." She added that "I can't do that from the governor's desk" because enemies stirred up by her sudden prominence—and orchestrated, she believes, by the Obama White House—would bury her in unfounded ethics complaints.

Whether that is true or not, Palin's unconventional step speaks to an ingrained frontier skepticism of authority—even one's own. Given the plunging credibility of institutions and elites, that's a mood that fits the Palin brand. Résumés ain't what they used to be; they count only with people who trust credentials—a dwindling breed. The mathematics Ph.D.s who dreamed up economy-killing derivatives have pretty impressive résumés. The leaders of congressional committees and executive agencies have decades of experience—at wallowing in red ink, mismanaging economic bubbles and botching covert intelligence.

If ever there has been a time to gamble on a flimsy résumé, ever a time for the ultimate outsider, this might be it. "We have so little trust in the character of the people we elected that most of us wouldn't invite them into our homes for dinner, let alone



A family affair Palin reveals her decision on July 3 at her home in Wasilla, Alaska. Lieutenant Governor Sean Parnell, left of lectern, will succeed her



leave our children alone in their care," writes talk-show host Glenn Beck in his book *Glenn Beck's Common Sense*, a pox-on-all-their-houses fusillade at Washington. Dashed off in a fever of disillusionment with those in power, Beck's book is selling like vampire lit, with more than 1 million copies in print.

Suppose that Palin somehow channels this grim and possibly gathering sense that America's institutions and authorities are no longer worthy of deference. Suppose that the Obama Administration's expansions of government don't prove as popular—or successful—as Democrats hope. Maybe then she will have picked the right time to declare in her resignation speech, "I've never believed that I, nor anyone else, needs a title" to be effective. In fact, a title might slow you down if your message is that our nation's leaders are so deeply and abidingly inadequate that the only appropriate attitude toward them is scorn.

If not her, maybe someone else. For now, having surrendered her official position, Palin is free to give speeches, write a book and watch for the fish to arrive. A person learns in the Alaska vastness that humans can respond to events but never control them.

The Outsider

PALIN'S BREAKNECK TRAJECTORY FROM rising star to former officeholder—with more twists sure to come—has every thing to do with her Alaskan context. As the writer John McPhee once observed, "Alaska is a foreign country," a statement legally false but true in terms of culture and attitude and location. Recall how the story begins. It is June 2007, and a ship docks at the remote port of Juneau, a place tightly bound between sea and mountains. Down the gangplank walks a pair of pundits—Barnes and editor William Kristol—bound for lunch with an unknown first-year governor. A few hours later, the two reboard their cruise ship, delighted to have found a Republican fresh as a glacier breeze, seemingly tough as a sled dog and unsullied by the internecine battles raging within the fracturing GOP.

But how tough could she really be, having learned about politics in a state with almost as many square miles as people? Alaskan feuds are straightforward and personal, against a backdrop of "live and let live." Washington combat has an impersonal cruelty to it, reflected in a maxim of the strategist Lee Atwater: "Never kick a man when he's up." As Barnes and Kristol

'There's been a lot of adverse publicity and the drumbeat of allegations. She rises to the bait every time.'

—GREGG ERICKSON, EDITOR-AT-LARGE,
ALASKA BUDGET REPORT



began feeding Palin's name into the swirl of Washington gossip known as the Great Mentioner, they might have overestimated how ready she was for battle in the big time.

In Dillingham, Palin traces her decision to resign directly to Aug. 29, 2008, the day she was announced as McCain's running mate, the day "the distractions," as she calls them, "ramped up." They ranged from the bizarre—a blogger's campaign to prove that Palin faked her last pregnancy (she didn't)—to the humiliating. The *National Enquirer* sent four reporters to Alaska, hoovering up gossip about drug use by her older children and long-ago marital infidelity. Despite rave reviews for her Republican National Convention speech, Palin soon became the target of late-night comics and snarky columnists. The obvious pleasure she took in her attacks on the Democrats made it hard to feel sorry for her.

A more experienced, more familiar politician would have been ready for the ramping, but Palin seemed consumed by it. Instead of ignoring hostile bloggers, she combed the Web for their latest postings. At the same time, she assumed the classic role of vice presidential attack dog, making insinuations about Barack Obama's religion and patriotism. She urged the McCain campaign to strike back at every heckler, and when staffers admonished her to remember the big picture, she suspected that she was surrounded by enemies. An armor of suspicion closed her in. Asked recently to name the people Palin trusts for advice, a source close to her answered, "Nobody. I'm not even sure she listens to Todd."

The campaign ended but not the barrage. Since the election in November, Palin has been hit with at least 10 ethics

complaints for such alleged offenses as allowing her picture to be used to promote Alaskan fisheries and wearing a logo on her snowmobile gear. One complaint was filed under a pseudonym borrowed from a British soap opera. Most were quickly dismissed. And yet, Palin says, she arrived at the conclusion that there would always be more and that the complaints would consume her remaining time as governor.

"It comes at such great cost," she tells TIME. "The distraction. The waste of time and money, public's time and money." She decided that "it's insane to continue down this road. And Alaskans who have paid attention to what's going on, they understand that." But what she sees as distractions, many voters see as the gauntlet of public life; that if you can't take the heat, don't go into the public sauna. She asserts that if people were shocked by her decision, it was because the media haven't covered the real story. "We have sat down with reporters, showed them proof of the frivolity, the wastefulness, you know, millions of dollars this is costing our state to fight frivolous charges. And countless, countless hours from my staff, our Department of Law, from me, every single day, just trying to set the record straight—and it doesn't cost the adversaries a dime."

Hell, Yeah, We're Out of Here

ACCORDING TO PALIN, AS SHE ANNOUNCED her decision, her family was uniformly delighted by her move. "It was four yeses and one 'Hell, yeah!'" she said. Others, however, had tried and failed to persuade Palin to rise above silly-season attacks. John Coale, for one. A prominent Washington attorney and fundraiser (and husband of Fox News's Greta Van Susteren), Coale helped Palin set up a

PAC and a legal-defense fund. "She was very worried about money," he says, because the cost of defending herself against the various complaints ran some \$500,000 in legal bills. Perhaps inevitably, the legal fund produced yet another ethics complaint.

Coale was surprised when Palin told him she made a habit of listening to her critics on talk radio. "You can't do that," he told her.

"Yeah," she conceded—then reconsidered. "But I've got to see what they're saying."

"No, you don't," he answered.

"She made the mistake that every time someone attacked her, she'd fight back," Coale says. And that instinct was especially strong when the attack involved family. In recent months she has been in an unseemly tussle with Levi Johnston, the hockey-playing former fiancé of her daughter Bristol. After a joke aimed at 18-year-old Bristol hit 14-year-old Willow instead, Palin demanded multiple apologies from comedian David Letterman. Even after Palin announced her resignation, she remained on high alert. Shannyn Moore, an Alaska blogger, questioned whether Palin quit because of rumors she was facing a scandal. Palin's lawyer threatened to sue. Net result: more publicity and an FBI denial of any investigation.

"There's been a lot of adverse publicity and the drumbeat of allegations," says Gregg Erickson, who watches Juneau politics as editor-at-large of the *Alaska Budget Report*. "She rises to the bait every time."

For Palin, however, these aren't isolated incidents. She believes they grow from the same root, which is too big and too formidable to ignore. "A lot of this comes from Washington, D.C. The trail is pretty direct and pretty obvious to us," says Meg Stapleton, a close Palin adviser in Alaska. Awaiting a flight back to Anchorage from distant Dillingham, Stapleton adds that the anti-Palín offensive seems lifted straight from *The Thumpin'*, which describes the political strategies of Rahm Emanuel, who is now the White House chief of staff. "It's the Sarah Palin playbook. It's how they operate," Stapleton says.

Palin and her Alaska circle find evidence for their suspicions about the White House in the person of Pete Rouse, who lived in Juneau for a time before he became chief of staff to a young U.S. Senator named Barack Obama. Rouse, they note, is a friend of former Alaska state senator Kim Elton,

who pushed the first ethics investigation of Palin, examining her controversial firing of the state's public-safety commissioner. Both Rouse and Elton have joined the Obama Administration. White House press secretary Robert Gibbs scoffed at the theory. "The charge is ridiculous," he said. "Obviously there is no effort ... From my vantage point, a lot of the criticism she is getting from others seems to be generated from self-inflicted wounds."

Something else might have been eating at Palin too. Call it boredom or impatience: Juneau must seem awfully small compared with the national stage. A state representative from Anchorage, Democrat Mike Doogan, recalls the traditional opening of the legislature on a January day—the same day Obama was sworn in as President. Doogan was chosen to pay a ceremonial visit to the governor to announce that the session had begun. Dressed in his best suit, with a plastic iris in his lapel, he waited in Palin's office as she finished a meeting. "She wasn't particularly happy to see us or interested in anything other than getting the ceremony over as quickly as possible," he says. "And this from a woman who had served cupcakes for my birthday at the mansion just six months earlier." That was the last he saw of the governor in Juneau.

Born to Run

HER DEPARTURE WAS A DISTILLATE OF all things Palin. It packed the same gobsacking wallop as her arrival on the GOP ticket. Sunlit against an Alaskan waterfront, it was as telegenic as her boffo acceptance speech. Rambling along in Palinesque fashion, she didn't quite tell us where she's headed, but she left no doubt that she remains in a hurry to get there.

Where does Sarah Palin go next? To the bank. She has already announced plans to write a book; her advance is reportedly in the millions. A celebrity of her wattage commands huge money on the lecture cir-

cuit, and at as much as \$100,000 per speech, she can exceed her official salary in a couple of days. Attractive and garrulous, Palin seems born to host a cable-TV show.

She also has a standing invitation to a lovefest with America's social conservatives. Like opera or scrapie, Palin is something of an acquired taste, a phenomenon loved by some, detested by others, with an uncomprehending vastness in between. But for those who don't get it, here's a thumbnail sketch of her rightward appeal: For the pro-life movement, this cheerful mother of a Down-syndrome baby is a rousing affirmation. For the gun-rights movement, she's a glamorous, moose-hunting shot of adrenaline. She hates on the media, never forgets the troops and is a walking middle finger to the BosNYWash elite. As Rush Limbaugh interrupted his vacation to declare, "She is going to continue to fire up people in the conservative Republican base as often as she speaks to them."

A recent Gallup survey asked American adults whether they have become more conservative or more liberal in recent years, and the answer might suggest a bumpier road ahead for the Administration. Despite the Democratic sweep in 2008, "more conservative" prevailed 2 to 1. Being strong with the right is not a bad place for a woman of ambition to get started.

Outside her family's Dillingham smokehouse, Palin lays out a robust indictment of the Obama agenda. "President Obama is growing government outrageously, and it's immoral and it's uneconomic," she says. "The debt that our nation is incurring, trillions of dollars that we're passing on to our kids, expecting them to pay off for us, is immoral and doesn't even make economic sense. So his growth-of-government agenda needs to be ratcheted back, and it's going to take good people who have the guts to stand up to him."

She continues. The cap-and-trade energy plan "is going to drive the cost of consumer

goods and the cost of energy so extremely high." Democratic health-care proposals, she says, look increasingly like the ideas that McCain proposed during the campaign. "One thing reporters aren't asking the Administration is—it's such a simple question, and people around here in the real world, outside of Washington, D.C., want reporters to ask—President Obama, how are you going to pay for this one- or two- or three-trillion-dollar health care plan? How are you going to pay off the stimulus package, those borrowed dollars? How are you going to pay for so many things that you are proposing and you are implementing? Americans deserve to know."

For Palin, the question might be, How thin a résumé and how unconventional a background will voters embrace? Obama—a first-term Senator with roots in Hawaii, Kenya and Indonesia—moved the bar quite a distance. But would the same country that picked the lofty, cerebral liberal turn around four years later and embrace an earthy, instinctive conservative? After all, President Obama will also be a lot more experienced in 2012.

Whatever else we take away from Palin's abrupt announcement that she is quitting, she has proved that her low opinion of government includes even her own powers and prerogatives. As she put it in her farewell speech—the one that began "Hi, Alaska!"—the governor's office is no longer a place for "productive, fulfilled people ... choosing to wisely utilize precious time." A lot of conservative politicians stop wanting smaller government the minute the government is them. Then they discover that they like the trappings, earmarks and junkets, the plums for friends. For Palin, the job offered little more than "lame-duck status—hit the road, draw the paycheck and milk it."

So, bye, Alaska! She made her declaration on Independence Day weekend as a symbol, she says, of her new and exhilarating freedom. She's headed to a bookstore, a television set, a convention hall near you, armed with an anti-résumé. Cut loose from her obligations to her huge and awesome homeland, her message remains quintessentially Alaskan. Where she comes from—the last American frontier—the past is irrelevant, the rules are suspended, and limitations are for losers.

—WITH REPORTING BY KAREN TUMULTY/
WASHINGTON, MICHAEL SCHERER/ROME
AND ANDREA SACHS/NEW YORK ■

'President Obama, how are you going to pay for this one- or two- or three-trillion-dollar health-care plan? How are you going to pay off the stimulus package?'

—SARAH PALIN



Action!



In 2008, RBS created a series of TV commercials to promote The First Tee's work teaching young people life's values through the game of golf. Presented by fellow Trustee and RBS Ambassador Jack Nicklaus and featuring The First Tee participants sharing what golf means to them, the campaign raised public interest in the youth development program to new heights.

The Royal Bank of Scotland Group is proud, not just to sponsor, but to take action with Jack and The First Tee to make a real difference in the lives of young people.

www.thefirsttee.org

Make it happen.

 **RBS**
The Royal Bank of Scotland Group

A large background image of golfer Tom Watson in mid-swing, wearing a white cap with a logo and a blue polo shirt. The title '2009 OPEN CHAMPIONSHIP' is overlaid in large, gold, serif capital letters.

2009 OPEN CHAMPIONSHIP

If The Open Championship is the granddaddy of the four majors, then its venue for 2009 might be called the great-great-great grandson. But it's one, that some view as the most precious of them all.

Consider Prestwick, host to the first six Opens, back in the 1860's, a remarkable layout along the sea; it has been abandoned by the championship since 1925.

Now consider Turnberry, the pup, a remarkable corner of Southwestern Scotland that did not get its first Open until 1977. And, after three historical battles in the years since, it returns now for a fourth go in July.

The Open simply had to return to Turnberry. The fact that the Ailsa course, named after that familiar rock that lies off the western shoreline, has been named by some the best course in Great Britain is certainly a lure. For a course so relatively young, redesigned by Mackenzie Ross in the years following World War II after near extinction, it is a devilishly-difficult challenge that has produced sensational Opens.

Tom Watson and Jack Nicklaus gave it instant cache in 1977 with their famous "Duel in the Sun" which Watson won on the 72nd hole.

Greg Norman came back nine years later, countering an opening round 74 with a staggering 63 on Friday to win his first major championship.

And in 1994, Nick Price held off Jesper Parnevik to win his first of two majors that summer.

Each indelibly imprinted on our golfing brains. And now The Open returns for a fourth time to this very special spot in all the world. If the shadow of the Ailsa continues its magic, expect memories to last forever.

Jim Huber,
TNT Essayist



THURSDAY, **JULY 16** 6:30 AM - 7:00 PM ET/PT

FRIDAY, **JULY 17** 7:00 AM - 7:00 PM ET/PT

SATURDAY, **JULY 18** 7:00 - 9:00 AM ET / 4:00 - 6:00 AM PT

SUNDAY, **JULY 19** 6:00 - 8:00 AM ET / 3:00 - 5:00 AM PT

THE OPEN 
CHAMPIONSHIP

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Solar Panels
101. A look
at who's
flocking
to Austin
Community
College

LUCAS STARBUCK
He's a **personal**
trainer, another
ACC specialty

MIKE AMES
Goodbye,
medical-device
manufacturing.
Hello, solar panels

EDUCATION

Can Community Colleges Save the U.S. Economy?

As laid-off workers add to surging enrollments, the White House looks to two-year schools for an educational bailout

BY LAURA FITZPATRICK/AUSTIN

COMMUNITY COLLEGES ARE DEEPLY UNsexy. This fact tends to make even the biggest advocates of these two-year schools—which educate nearly half of U.S. undergraduates—sound defensive, almost a tad whiny. “We don’t have the bands. We don’t have the football teams that everybody wants to boost,” says Stephen Kinslow, president of Texas’ Austin Community College (ACC). “Most people don’t understand community colleges very well at all.” And by “most people,” he means the graduates of fancy four-year schools

who get elected and set budget priorities.

Many politicians and their well-heeled constituents may be under the impression that a community college—as described in a promo for NBC’s upcoming comedy *Community*—is a “loser college for remedial teens, 20-something dropouts, middle-aged divorcees and old people keeping their minds active as they circle the drain of eternity.” But there’s at least one Ivy Leaguer who is trying to help Americans get past the stereotypes and start thinking about community college not as a dumping ground

but as one of the best tools the U.S. has to dig itself out of the current economic hole. His name: Barack Obama.

The President hasn’t forgotten about the 30 or so community colleges he visited during the 2008 campaign. These institutions are our nation’s trade schools, training 59% of our new nurses as well as cranking out wind-farm technicians and video-game designers—jobs that, despite ballooning unemployment overall, abound for adequately skilled workers. Community-college graduates earn up to 30% more



JASON SOLIZ
He's an **Army** veteran. Some 40% of GI Bill beneficiaries pursue two-year degrees

JEFF PAPE
This software engineer and **former Google employee** has two master's degrees from **Stanford**

PHILIP SOWARD
With a **master's in management** from Boston University, he hopes to find a niche in green buildings for his landscaping and maintenance business

JOHNNY CASTILLO
Arriving at ACC **straight out of high school**, he is working at **Best Buy** and hoping a professor will help him get an internship at a solar-power company



than high school grads, a boon that helps state and local governments reap a 16% return on every dollar they invest in community colleges. But our failure to improve graduation rates at these schools is a big part of the achievement gap between the U.S. and other countries. As unfilled jobs continue to head overseas, Obama points to the "national-security implication" of the widening gap. Closing it, according to an April report from McKinsey & Co., would have added as much as \$2.3 trillion, or 16%, to our 2008 GDP.

Those lost jobs are why Education Secretary Arne Duncan declared in March that two-year schools "will play a big role in getting America back on its feet again." Obama tapped two former community-college officials for top posts in the Education Department and in May announced a p.r. campaign—headed by Jill Biden, the Vice President's wife and a longtime community-college professor—to raise awareness about the power of these schools to train new and laid-off workers.

But as record numbers of students clamor to enroll, community colleges are struggling with shrinking resources or, at best, trying to maintain the status quo. Even the school where Biden teaches, Northern Virginia Community College, has lost more than 10% of its funding in the past two years and has let go of dozens of full-time professors as it braces for more possible cutbacks. Elsewhere, state budget cuts have led to enrollment caps at some community colleges. And if there aren't enough seats in classrooms, students can't get certificates or

degrees, and skilled jobs remain unfilled. In short, as the Center for American Progress concluded in a February report, "America's future economic success may well depend on how we invest in two-year institutions."

Getting Students Ready to Work

THE 1,200 COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN THE U.S. are especially suited to helping students adapt to a changing labor market. While four-year universities have the financial resources to lure top professors and students, they are by nature slow-moving. Community colleges, on the other hand, are smaller and able to tack quickly in changing winds. They often partner with local businesses and can gin up continuing education courses midsemester in response to industry needs, getting students in and out and ready to work—fast.

For example, when Austin's semiconductor industry started tanking in 2000, ACC quickly stripped down its chip-development courses and soon repurposed clean rooms for emerging green technologies. These days, it generally takes about six months of weekend classes to get qualified to be a solar installer, a job that can pay up to \$16 an hour. But starting in August, a compressed weekday program—catering to the recently unemployed—will allow students to cram the same courses into just two months. To earn an associate degree focusing on renewable energy—enough prep for a job as a solar installation-team leader, which can pay up to \$28 an hour—an ACC student has to take a total of 69 credit hours of courses, including solar photovoltaic systems, programming, physics, algebra, English composition and lab work. Average cost per credit hour for most students at ACC: \$54.

Meanwhile, the building that houses ACC's renewable-energy program is chockablock with bulletin boards touting jobs. A city ordinance that kicked in on June 1 requires presale energy audits for many commercial buildings, apartment complexes and single-family homes, creating the need for more trained inspectors. Also, one of the

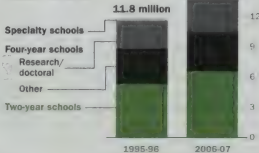


Prepping for green jobs Community-college students Fred Boncy, left, Keith Grosskopf and Alina Poulsen assemble a wind turbine in Austin, where renewable-energy firms are hiring

How Community Colleges Stack Up. 46% of U.S. undergrads go to two-year schools

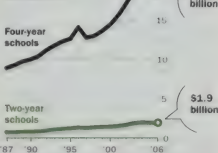
ATTENDANCE

Enrollment in higher-education institutions



FUNDING

Federal revenues allocated to ...



nation's largest solar-power plants is slated to be completed next year at a mere 20 miles from Austin's downtown.

Of course, the future of the labor market is hard to predict. Hence a 2008 Labor Department study that found federal job-training programs may produce "small" benefits at best. But the outlook is promising so far at ACC: members of its Renewable Energy Students Association routinely field calls from prospective employers. "I'm well aware of how much money is going to be available from this education," says Duane Nembhard, 34, who dropped out of college but found his way to ACC last year.

To make that money, however, students like Nembhard need to get their degrees—and the statistics are disheartening. Only 31% of community-college students who set out to get a degree complete it within six years, whereas 58% of students at four-year schools graduate within that time frame. Students from middle-class or wealthy families are nearly five times more likely to earn a college degree as their poorer peers are. In 2007, 66% of white Americans ages 25 to 29 had completed at least some college, compared with 50% of African Americans and 34% of Hispanics.

While the U.S. ranks a respectable second (after Norway) in producing adult workers with bachelor's degrees, it has slipped to ninth in producing working-age "sub-bachelor's" degree holders, which is one reason Obama is working on a plan to help every American get at least one year of college or vocational training. "If you're going to increase the population that has some college, it isn't going to be among upper-middle-class white people," says Thomas Bailey, director of Columbia University's Community College Research Center. "Community colleges will have to play a central role."

That is, if they have enough resources to handle all the students. Chronically cash-starved, two-year schools pull in an average of just 30% of the federal funding per student allocated to state universities—though they educate nearly the same number of

undergraduates. (Even after you account for the academic research that goes on at four-year schools, experts say community colleges still get shafted.) Two-year schools have been growing faster than four-year institutions, with the number of students they educate increasing more than sevenfold since 1963, compared with a near tripling at four-year schools. Yet federal funding has held virtually steady over the past 20 years for community colleges, while four-year schools' funding has increased.

Saving Cash, Living at Home

COMMUNITY COLLEGES ARE USED TO DOING more with less. But this recession has led to record enrollment surges at many two-year schools, in part because of the influx of laid-off workers but also because more members of the middle class are looking to save money on the first couple of years of their children's higher education. Among them is Bruce Anderson, an Austin attorney who has lost nearly a third of his savings since the recession began and doesn't want to sideline his kid while waiting for the market to come back. His son Tyler will start at ACC this fall and, as long as he lives at home, will save the family about 90% of the annual tab at a four-year residential college. "He can get his basic core courses out of the way at ACC and then do his focus for his major at a four-year institution," Anderson says.

But as more students like Tyler enroll, classes are maxing out. Community colleges, which pride themselves on being open to all, rarely cap enrollment outright, as state universities in places like Arizona and California will do this fall. Miami Dade College, the country's largest community college, admitted on May 28 that state budget cuts will force it to forgo adding hundreds of class sections. As many as 5,000 students will be unable to enroll, and 30,000 may be unable to take the classes they need in order to graduate. In California, where Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger remains a champion of community colleges, having

studied at one, as many as 200,000 would be students may get squeezed out of higher education next year.

Taken together, skyrocketing enrollment and shrinking budgets could mean that just as record numbers of students seek out a community college, earning a degree from one may be harder than ever. Says Melissa Roderick, a professor at the University of Chicago who studies school transitions: "This group of kids will pay a high economic price if we don't step up as a nation."

What would stepping up look like? For starters, Congress needs to double the federal funding for these schools, according to a May report from the Brookings Institution. But, the report argues, to truly "transform our community colleges into engines of opportunity and prosperity," funding needs to be tied to performance in areas like degree completion—a model some states, including Indiana and Ohio, are already trying. The City University of New York has rigged up an experimental program that requires its community-college students to take intensive remedial courses if they aren't prepared to do college-level work. Begun in 2007 with the goal of getting at least half of the study's 1,000 participants to graduate from college in three years, it's showing initial signs of success. Other colleges are redoubling their retention efforts. And last fall, the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation announced up to \$500 million in grants, aiming to double college-completion rates by 2025. As Sara Goldrick-Rab, an assistant professor at the University of Wisconsin at Madison and co-author of the Brookings report, puts it, "Money speaks louder than anything."

Ultimately, community-college administrators hope their schools will emerge stronger from the downturn as it highlights their potential for juicing the economy. "In some ways, the terrible nature of the economic recession will actually help people understand [community college]," says Kinslow. "People are going to be forced into looking at it more carefully." ■

COST

Average tuition and fees, 2006-07

Four-year public research/doctoral school

\$6,197

Four-year private research/doctoral school

\$26,515

Two-year school

\$2,510

GRADUATION

Within six years



BOOSTERS



Melinda and Bill Gates have donated millions to increase the number of two-year college grads



Joel McHale will star in NBC's *Community*, which could be to two-year schools what *The Office* is to cubicles



Jill Biden teaches at a two-year school and, as the Veep's wife, is leading the White House p.r. effort

Why Are Scotland's Sheep Shrinking?

As the planet warms, species like the wild Soay sheep are evolving in response—but they may not keep pace with the astonishing speed of climate change

BY BRYAN WALSH

THEY'RE COUNTING SHEEP IN SCOTLAND, and not because of an outbreak of Celtic insomnia. For the past few decades, researchers have been keeping close tabs on the wild Soay sheep in the St. Kilda archipelago off the western coast of Scotland. Recently they noticed something odd: the Soays had shrunk. This was surprising because bigger is generally better for sheep. They fatten up on grass during the fertile, sunny summer; when the harsh Scottish winter comes, the grass disappears, and the smallest, scrawniest sheep tend to die off while their heftier, fitter cousins survive to reproduce in the spring.

But in just 25 years, Soay sheep have gotten 5% smaller, on average, according to a new study led by Tim Coulson of Imperial College London. It's not that evolution has been repealed in Scotland; rather, global warming has simply made it easier for smaller, less fit Soay sheep to survive. And plenty of other species are quickly adapting to the changing climate in similar ways. It seems global warming, which by one forecast could threaten up to one-third of the world's species by midcentury if left unchecked, is emerging as Darwin's new enforcer. "We're definitely seeing evolutionary change connected to climate change," says Arthur Weis, an evolutionary biologist at the University of Toronto. "It's a pretty convincing pattern to find."

Coulson and his colleagues found that the harsh winters in the St. Kilda archipelago have been getting shorter and milder, largely as a result of climate change. That makes food more abundant and allows some of the smaller, younger sheep not only to survive but also to have offspring that tend to be tiny—what Coulson calls the "young mum" effect—yet have a better chance of survival because of the warmer winters. "The environmental and evolutionary processes are intertwined," says Coulson. "There's still natural selection, but it's not

leaving as big a signature as it used to."

The surprising fact about evolution and global warming, as the sheep demonstrate, is that the relationship is not linear. It's not simply rising temperatures that trigger evolution but also changing seasonal patterns, especially among species that live in the temperate or polar regions and are finely tuned to the seasons. Earlier springs and later falls confuse wildlife, which tell the time of year by the length of the days. "Animals are responding to changing season length," says Christina Holzapfel, an evolutionary biologist at the University of Oregon. "They're using the most reliable environmental cue they have: light."

That means big shifts in fundamental survival behavior. Holzapfel and her colleague William Bradshaw have shown that at least one species—the purple pitcher mosquito—has already adapted genetically to changing climates. The nonbiting mosquito is found from the Mid-Atlantic states up to Canada. Mosquitoes in Maine typically begin hibernating on Aug. 25, when there are about 15 hours of daylight, while mosquitoes in New Jersey hibernate later in the year in response to the later winters farther south. But Holzapfel and Bradshaw found that as the climate warmed and northern winters came later, Maine mosquitoes started hibernating later too—7½ days later in 1996 than in 1972. "As the environment changes, individu-

als that can't change are lopped off," says Holzapfel, who with Bradshaw has identified the genes that control mosquitoes' response to daylight. "What's left is a different kind of population that can evolve and move forward."

That goes for plants as well. Weis, at the University of Toronto, has shown that the field mustard weed has responded to repeated recent droughts in California—believed to be connected to climate change—by flowering earlier in the year and producing strong seeds before the soil dries out in the summer. The weed's reproductive cycle has also sped up, allowing the plant to respond faster to the changing climate. In general, species that can reproduce rapidly—like insects and weeds—will adapt more easily to the pace of climate change than large mammals and old trees. "A lot of the species that will be able to evolve in time are ones that we'd consider pests," says Weis.

The world's climate has always changed, and species have always evolved to survive it. But the sheer speed of man-made climate change today is unprecedented. Global warming may outrun even the fittest wildlife, and the short-term success of animals like the Soay sheep may not last. "Bad things are happening," says Holzapfel. There's a term for what happens when evolution can't keep pace with climate change: extinction.



Great tit

These largely nonmigratory birds lay eggs earlier, in response to the earlier spring, which helps chicks survive



Pea aphids

Heat decreases pea-aphid reproduction, but the aphids have developed bacteria that help them resist high temperatures



Blackcaps

The birds are changing their wintering grounds to a warmer Britain, rather than too-hot Spain and Portugal



Red squirrel

Spruce cones are popping earlier in the year, so Yukon red squirrels reproduce earlier in the spring and get their fill



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WEB WATCH, PAGE 59

Life

WOMEN'S HEALTH PERSONAL FINANCE TECHNOLOGY WEB WATCH



WOMEN'S HEALTH

The Melancholy of Motherhood. Would it help or hurt to screen all mothers for postpartum depression?

BY CATHERINE ELTON

A MONTH AFTER MELANIE Blocker-Stokes gave birth, she stopped eating and sleeping. She had convinced herself that she was a terrible mother, and she was paranoid that the neighbors thought so too. Over two months, Blocker-Stokes was repeatedly hospitalized

for postpartum psychosis; prescribed a cocktail of anti-psychotic, anti-anxiety and antidepressant drugs; and treated with electroconvulsive therapy. Despite her family's efforts to help, Blocker-Stokes leaped to her death from the 12th story of a Chicago hotel in 2001, when her daughter was 3½ months old.

Now the Melanie Blocker-Stokes Postpartum Depression Research and Care Act, familiarly known as the Mothers Act, has passed the House and is headed for the Senate. If it becomes law, it will mandate the funding of research, education and public-service announcements about postpartum depression (PPD)

along with services for women who have it.

The legislation has sparked surprisingly heated debate, dividing psychologists and sparking a war of petition drives aimed at either bolstering the bill or blocking its passage. "I just can't understand it," says Carol Blocker, Blocker-Stokes' mother. "It breaks my heart

that women would be against a bill that would help mothers."

But not everyone agrees that the Mothers Act is destined to help. At the root of the dissent is the issue of screening: Does PPD screening identify cases of real depression or simply contribute to the potentially dangerous medicalization of motherhood?

Although the current version of the Mothers Act does not specifically include funding for PPD testing, an earlier one did (it was based on a New Jersey law that mandates universal PPD screening), and critics say the new act will naturally lead to greater use of screening if it passes. Opponents of the bill contend that mental-health screens are notoriously prone to giving false positives—research suggests that as few as one-third of women flagged by a PPD screen actually have the condition—and say testing is a gambit by pharmaceutical companies to sell more drugs.

But clinicians and researchers say screening is intended not as a diagnostic tool but as a way to identify patients who need further evaluation. Studies suggest that PPD affects as many as 1 out of 7 mothers and that failing to treat it exposes women and their babies to unwarranted risk. "Postpartum depression is not a benign, uncommon thing. We screen all infants for [the genetic disorder] phenylketonuria, which is extremely rare. Why don't we screen women for this?" asks University of Pittsburgh Medical Center psychiatrist Katherine Wisner.

Why? Because increased screening could lead to an increase in mothers being prescribed psychiatric medication unnecessarily. That concern lies close to the heart of Amy Philo, 31, of Texas, who has become a leader of the anti-Mothers Act movement. In 2004, shortly after her first son was born, he choked on his vomit and needed emergency treatment. Her son recovered, but after



Her cause Carol Blocker's daughter Melanie, mother of Sommer Skyy, 8, left, suffered from postpartum psychosis and killed herself in 2001

the incident, Philo became preoccupied with his safety and even feared hurting him herself—a common symptom of PPD. "After a one-minute conversation with my doctor, he gave me Zoloft and said it would make me and my baby happy," she recalls. But Philo says she started having suicidal and homicidal thoughts, which got stronger when another doctor raised her dosage. Eventually, Philo says, she weaned herself off the drug, and her violent feelings disappeared. (Zoloft, like other antidepressant drugs in its class, carries a black-box warning that it can increase suicidal ideation in patients ages 24 and under but not in adults of Philo's age.)

Some psychologists argue that universal PPD screening misses the point because the

greatest risk factor for postpartum depression is not giving birth, in fact, but previous depression. Women develop depression at the same rate whether or not they have given birth, according to Stony Brook University psychology professor Marci Lobel. "Women who have been healthy all their lives, who haven't suffered lots of anxiety and depressive symptoms, are unlikely to have problems in the postpartum period—not even close to likely," says Michael O'Hara, a University of Iowa

The greatest risk factor for PPD is not giving birth, in fact, but previous depression

professor of psychology. Further, say experts, while pregnancy hormones may impact a small subgroup of vulnerable women, they have little to do with PPD in most cases. In a study published in the *American Journal of Psychiatry* in 2000, researchers used drugs to mimic the postpartum decline of pregnancy hormones in 16 women, eight with histories of PPD and eight without. Five of the eight women who had previously experienced PPD developed mood symptoms. But none of the women who had never been depressed postpartum were affected.

Still, there's no denying that the postpartum period is a difficult one for many women. Some new mothers contend with clinical depression, but many more experience the normal feelings of "baby blues," the short-lived postpartum sadness that affects at least half of all mothers. "[We] should be addressing the social factors causing women to be upset after they give birth, not locating the problem within the women," says Paula Caplan, a clinical and research psychologist.

On either side of the screening debate, experts agree that mothers need help, says Ingrid Johnston-Robledo, director of women's studies at the State University of New York at Fredonia. She adds that opposing arguments over PPD screening need not be mutually exclusive. "The problem with women's reproductive health issues is that they tend to be ignored or exaggerated," she says. "We need to find a way to come down in the middle: acknowledge women's depression but not assume that all women who struggle with the transition to motherhood are depressed." Ensuring the proper support of mothers, however—whether that means treating depression or caring for women in their new roles—would require an effort much more ambitious than a single law. ■

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Reverse Mortgages. More older Americans are cashing in all their home equity. But is that their best option?



HOUSE RULES

62

Minimum age to qualify for a reverse mortgage

196%

Increase in the number of reverse-mortgage loans in the past five years

\$625,500

New home-value limit that can be used to obtain a reverse mortgage

BY CYBELE WEISSER

WHILE THE RECESSION HASN'T spared any age group, it's been particularly brutal for older Americans who were counting on their (now shrunken) nest eggs to last through their retirement years. To supplement their stash, an increasing number of seniors are turning to reverse mortgages, which function essentially as a cash advance on their home equity, repaid only when they sell their home or die. The loans are available to those 62 and over, and lenders have to eat the difference if a home ends up declining in value. In the three months after February—when a provision in the economic-stimulus package raised the eligible home-value limit from \$417,000 to \$625,500—the number of federally insured reverse-mortgage originations jumped 10% compared with the same period last year.

Industry experts predict that reverse mortgages will play an increasingly important role in the coming years as some 70 million baby boomers hit their 60s—often with a lot less saved than they'd hoped.

This has some folks in Washington concerned. In June, the Government Accountability Office said it had uncovered misleading marketing practices in the reverse-mortgage industry, and Missouri Senator Claire McCaskill, a longtime consumer advocate, chaired a hearing to investigate predatory lending tactics. A big no-no is cross-selling, e.g., trying to persuade a senior to get a reverse mortgage and use the funds to buy an annuity or other financial product.

Comptroller of the Currency John Dugan recently noted that reverse mortgages, like some flavors of the infamous subprime mortgages, are too complex for many seniors to

understand. "Millions of older Americans still have a lot of equity in their homes, and it's tempting for them to tap into this pot of money," he says.

Still, under the right conditions, these loans can be a sensible solution to a tough financial situation. So if you or your parents are considering one, here's what you need to know:

The amount you can borrow is based on interest rates, your age and the value of your home. (Use the calculator at rmaarp.com for an estimate.) There are no credit or income requirements to get a reverse mortgage, but you must be able to keep up with property taxes and insurance bills—or you could lose your home. The up-front costs are high. Generally, \$10,000 to \$15,000 in fees are lopped off the amount you can borrow. Finally, if someone is pressuring you to take one of these loans in order to buy something else, that's a huge red flag. Walk away.

Lenders aren't allowed to close on a federally insured reverse mortgage until borrowers meet with a HUD-approved counselor, who is required to help them explore alternatives such as selling their home or lowering their expenses. That's because the greatest reverse-mortgage risk, especially for younger borrowers, may be that they will live longer than they expected and drain all the available equity from their home. Says reverse-mortgage specialist Bronwyn Belling: "If you borrow the money now, you may not have it when you need it later on."

TECHNOLOGY

Adultery 2.0. A personals site aimed at facilitating extramarital affairs adds mobile apps suspicious spouses can't trace

BY JEREMY CAPLAN

TWO-TIMING POLITICIANS, TAKE NOTE: cheating has never been easier. AshleyMadison.com, a personals site designed to facilitate extramarital affairs, now boasts slick iPhone and BlackBerry versions aimed at tech-savvy adulterers wary of leaving tracks on work or home computers. Because the apps are loaded from phones' browsers, they leave no electronic trail that suspicious spouses can trace.

Even as public outrage boils up over the infidelity of South Carolina Governor Mark Sanford and Nevada Senator John Ensign, millions of Americans are sneaking online to do some surreptitious cheating of their own. In the past month alone, 679,000 men and women have used AshleyMadison to make a connection. According to their profiles, 92% of males on the Toronto-based site are married or otherwise attached, as are 60% of female members.

Unlike Craigslist, with its plain-Jane listings, AshleyMadison lets users customize profiles, chat anonymously

and trade messages about adulterous preferences—all in an effort to make cheating as simple as using Match.com.

The formula is working. AshleyMadison's membership has doubled in the past year, to 4 million. Traffic on the site—which takes its name from the two most popular female names in 2001, the year it launched—tripled on June 22, the day after Father's Day. That's a day when, according to CEO Noel Biderman, men often feel underappreciated. Biderman says there's a similar boost in interest from neglected wives and girlfriends after Valentine's Day.

Critics call AshleyMadison a cruel sex site that profits from marital pain. "AshleyMadison is making bad choices, broken promises and faithlessness look like something that's trendy and hip and fun to talk about at a cocktail party," says Trish McDermott, a dating-industry consultant who helped found Match.com and Engage.com. "It's in the business of rebranding infidelity, making it not only monetiz-



able but adding a modicum of normalcy to it."

"We're just a platform," responds Biderman. "No website or 30-second ad is going to convince anyone to cheat. People cheat because their lives aren't working for them."

Traffic on the site tripled the day after Father's Day, when men often feel underappreciated

Wanderlust New cell-phone apps from ethics-free AshleyMadison.com make cheating even easier

AshleyMadison isn't the only site aimed at under-the-radar relationships. But it is the most successful site openly capitalizing on extramarital affairs. The company charges \$49 for a package of credits that can be used to contact as many as 20 members. (The charge will show up on a credit-card bill as coming not from AshleyMadison but rather from the more blandly named ADL Media.) Members don't pay to receive messages; they pay only to initiate contact, so some people—usually women—end up using the site for free.

Maybe that's why many of the site's new members are female. Biderman says the proportion of women on the site has grown from 15% when the service quietly launched in 2001 to nearly 30% today. "Humans aren't meant to be monogamous," he says. So would this free-thinking CEO mind if his own wife used his site? "I would be devastated," he says.

WEB WATCH

Paying for Virtual Gifts. Facebook adds a new wrinkle

KICK ME



Buried in Facebook's new payment terms is this gem: If you spend \$1 to get 10 credits at Facebook's virtual-gift shop—where you can buy icons of unicorns as well as of sock-draped doorknobs (the universal symbol for "Keep out, we're

hooking up")—you have three years to use up your points. After that, Facebook reserves the right to go rogue by "sending virtual gifts to your Facebook friends." This is yet another reason to rethink friending your boss, lest you one day unknowingly send

her a (virtual) flaming bag of poo.

Why are people spending real money on this stuff? Humor is clearly a big draw: a study last year by Lightspeed Venture Partners found that virtual ninjabread cookies are given twice

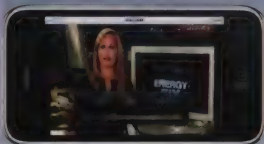
as often as virtual chocolate. There's even a create-your-own-gift application, which has more than 300,000 users. Make yours clever enough, and you could horn in on the estimated \$42 million in Facebook gift sales. —BY LAURA FITZPATRICK ■



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Art

MOVIES MUSIC BOOKS SHORT LIST

What's wizard rock? Music
by and for people who
think *Harry Potter* rocks

MUSIC, PAGE 63

MOVIES

Fashion Statement. With *Borat*, Sacha Baron Cohen shows he's not just a comedian

BY RICHARD LACAYO

THERE'S A LEGENDARY MOMENT IN *Borat* when you stop laughing and move on to a sort of desperate, horrified gasping because what you're seeing is, literally, beyond funny. That moment, of course, is the nude wrestling match between Borat, a hairy beanpole of a broadcaster from Kazakhstan, and his producer, a mountain of bearded blubber. When you're presented with a sight like that—the most purely awful spectacle since Divine sampled dog poop at the end of John Waters' *Pink Flamingos*—something more than mere laughter is required. Like maybe a call to 911.

Homme fatale The
"biggest Austrian
superstar since Hitler."



There's nothing quite that shock-and-awesome in *Brüno*, in which Sacha Baron Cohen is a gay Austrian fashionista who sets himself loose upon an unsuspecting world. How could there be? Since we now know there's nothing Baron Cohen won't do, we can't really be surprised when he does it. Make no mistake—the man who once asked an enraged neo-Nazi if he used moisturizer is still willing to go places you wouldn't go in body armor. So he gives us Brüno on a camping trip trying to seduce some revolted Alabama hunters; Brüno getting belt-whipped—hard—by a nude dominatrix; Brüno in a steel-cage match melting into wet kisses with his opponent while the crowd goes wild—and not in a good way. But even when Brüno is in a hotel room infuriating members of al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades—a situation that needs to be handled with care, especially if the guy handling it is a fey blond who hasn't heard that hot pants went out with *Charlie's Angels*—you think, Hey, at least they're not in a bear hug.

It's safe to say that after more than a decade honing his characters on television and in films, Baron Cohen is more than a comedian. He's the world's most famous performance artist, the inventor of a perfect hybrid of documentary and mockumentary, reality TV and psychodrama, *Jackass* and Andy Kaufman. When he gets the mixture just right, he creates situations of unbearable tension that at the same time turn out to be unbearably funny. For instance, at one point Brüno does a Madonna/Angelina, coming back from Africa with a baby. Then he appears as a guest on an actual talk show and tells the mostly African-American audience that he got the kid by trading an iPod for him. He also has the boy dressed in a T shirt that says *GAYBY*. The crowd goes wild—and not in a good way. Scenes like that are the emotional equivalent of Guantánamo stress positions. They're very uncomfortable, and sometimes you're left in them for a long time. Maybe laughter is the only way out.

For the record, *Brüno*, like *Borat*, was directed by Larry Charles. And as with *Borat*, the story in *Brüno* is just the merest pretext for stringing together provocations. At the beginning, Brüno is the hip-cocking host of *Funkyzeit*, a late-night Austrian TV show that tours the world of style. When he wrecks a runway show and ends up shunned by the Euro-fashion crowd, he lights out for the Middle East, Africa and the U.S. to become "the biggest Austrian superstar since Hitler." At which point *Brüno* becomes, again like *Borat*, a road comedy, the odyssey of an outlandish man whose greatest talent—actually, his only talent—is to bring out the worst

in other people. And Brüno's basic m.o., like *Borat*'s, is to go into the world with a camera to bewilder and infuriate people, never failing to prove that anger and stupidity are the permanent default modes of the human brain.

Some parts of *Brüno*—the weakest ones—are closer to conventional scripted comedy than anything in *Borat*. A montage of scenes of sexual gymnastics involving Brüno and a pint-size Asian boyfriend could have come from a Will Ferrell movie, assuming Ferrell was willing to have himself penetrated by a mechanical dildo. (And don't bet he wouldn't be.) But Brüno's encounters with real peo-

Baron Cohen is the inventor of a perfect hybrid of documentary and mockumentary

ple are priceless, even when the real people are celebrities. When the L.A. house he is renting as a location for a new interview show turns out to be unfurnished, Brüno recruits some Mexican laborers to get down on all fours as human benches. What kind of person would actually sit on other people? Now we know: Paula Abdul, warily, and LaToya Jackson, with gusto. Jackson's scene was cut from the film after Michael's death, so unless it's restored on the DVD, you won't get to see that what really offends her about the situation is not the humiliation of the workers but Brüno's persistent attempts to get her brother's phone number.

It goes without saying that Stephen Colbert owes Baron Cohen a debt too large to repay, but by comparison, Colbert plays it safe. His guests always know that Colbert's right-wing blowhard character is a put-on, and they happily play along. When Brüno tries to start a cuddle party with Texas Representative Ron Paul—"Has anyone ever told you, you look like Enrique Iglesias?"—the flustered former presidential candidate is definitely not in on the joke. As Paul makes his panicky escape down a hallway, he clues in one of his aides: "This guy is a queer!"

You can find sources for Baron Cohen's comic method in a lot of places. He's a great fan of Peter Sellers, and one Sellers role in particular hovers over everything Baron Cohen does—Chance the Gardener, the blank slate in *Being There* who provokes all those around him to expose themselves in some way. And then there's the other comic who was routinely described as a performance artist: Andy Kaufman.

The Three Stooges.

The Baron Cohen trio of sublime idiots



ALI G

A rapper wannabe who drives people crazy with inane interviews



BORAT

A Kazakh journalist on a collision course with U.S. culture



BRÜNO

An over-the-top gay Austrian fashionista intent on media stardom

For starters, Borat owes a thing or two to Latka, the Ruritanian innocent that Kaufman played on *Taxi*. More important, Baron Cohen's approach calls to mind those Kaufman routines—though routine is the wrong word for anything he did—in which he deliberately set out to bore and bewilder his audiences, just to see what would happen. In one he went onstage and simply read aloud from *The Great Gatsby*. While everyone waited for the joke, the punch line, the something, the anything, he just kept reading.

But Kaufman reserved his passive aggression for audiences, who because they were audiences were already primed for a performance of some kind, even if they didn't always get the joke. Baron Cohen takes his act out into the wider world, all for the fun of proving what fools these mortals be. That includes the mortals called Ali G, Borat and Bruno—Baron Cohen's comic characters are as dumb and deplorable as the people they mock. Ali G is a self-deluding white guy who yearns to be a black rapper. Borat is a rube and an anti-Semite. This is why the inevitable debate over whether the new film is a critique of homophobia or an incitement to more of it misses the point. Bruno sees everybody in the pejorative, including Bruno, who is trivial, narcissistic, mean to his devoted assistant and obsessed with cheesy fame. But even so, he's preferable to a lot of the people he meets, with their ignorance and prejudice, hypocrisy and primitive rage. Bruno may be a bumbler, but he holds all the cards—he's the character who turns out to be lovable, because how can you not love somebody who makes you laugh so hard? Hell, how can you not be in awe of somebody who can persuade a martial-arts instructor to demonstrate the many ways to defend yourself against a homosexual who attacks you from behind with two dildos? Ron Paul, take note.

Bruno could be looked at as the third in a trilogy of films that Baron Cohen has devoted to each of the three characters he developed first on British television and then on HBO. Though *Ali G Indahouse* was a hit in the U.K., it went straight to video in the U.S. *Borat* was, of course, a global cultural and box-office phenomenon, except maybe in Kazakhstan, where some people got a bit sniffy. Both characters are too famous now for Baron Cohen to use them anymore as a lure for the unsuspecting. Before the summer is out, Bruno will be too. So this may be the last film of this strange and brilliant kind that Baron Cohen can make for a while, maybe forever. Even Ron Paul wouldn't fall for Bruno anymore. But chances are you will, and hard. ■



Music hath charms The DeGeorge brothers, a.k.a. Harry and the Potters

MUSIC

The Boy Who Rocked. A new generation of bands is taking Harry Potter places J.K. Rowling never did

BY LEV GROSSMAN

ON JUNE 22, 2002, JOE DEGEORGE HAD A barbecue in his backyard. He was 15 at the time and living with his parents in Norwood, Mass. Joe had arranged for a couple of bands to play, but they bailed, and he needed entertainment. There are people who at that point would have jacked an iPod into the sound system and called it a party. But this Joe did not do.

He and his brother Paul, who's eight years older, were *Harry Potter* fans. In fact Paul had always thought the characters from *Harry Potter* would make a great band: Ron on guitar, Hermione on bass, Hagrid on drums (match) and Harry up front. "We'd kind of been talking about the idea but never done anything," Paul remembers. Joe and Paul proceeded to become this band. In one day, the brothers wrote, rehearsed and performed six songs about life at Hogwarts. The set list included "Platform 9 and ¾" and "Wizard Chess." To solve the personnel issues, or possibly compound them, both brothers appeared as Harry. "We high fived at the end of the day," Paul says, "and said, 'All right, we're Harry and the Potters.'"

The DeGeorges didn't realize it, but they had just invented a new kind of music. It's now known as wizard rock, or sometimes just "wrock." Wizard rock is pretty much what it sounds like: rock 'n' roll inspired

by and set in the universe of *Harry Potter*. Seven years after that fateful barbecue, there are dozens of wizard-rock bands: the Remus Lupins, Tonks and the Aurors, the Whomping Willows, the Moaning Myrtles, DJ Luna Lovegood, Oliver Boyd and the Remembralls. Evil characters can rock too: Draco and the Malfoys and the Parselmouths are mainstays of the scene. Wizard rockers dress like Hogwarts students. They play at conventions and clubs and wizard-rock festivals. There is a Wizard Rock EP of the Month Club.

Wizard rock is just one aspect of a subtle transformation that's taking place in the world of *Harry Potter* fandom. Two years after the last book was released, it's still going strong, and it's showing signs of taking on a life of its own as a cultural movement in its own right. *Potter* fan fiction continues to flow onto the Net, extending the Potterverse out toward the horizon in all directions, with the blessing of J.K. Rowling. There are two *Harry Potter* conventions this year, LeakyCon in Boston in May and Azkatraz in San Francisco in July (following the release of the sixth movie, *Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince*, on July 15). Paul serves on the board of directors of the *Harry Potter* Alliance (HPA), an activist group founded to promote the ideals and values of the *Harry Potter* books in the real world. Under the motto "What Would Dumbledore Do?" the HPA works to draw attention to



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A tradition of being non-traditional.

social problems like the conflict in Darfur.

Some important things for the nonfan to understand about wizard rock: The songs can be funny, but wizard rock is not a joke. It's not a stunt. It's not for little kids, or not just for them. It is exactly as advertised: music about *Harry Potter* for people who think *Harry Potter* is awesome.

There are a lot of those people. To date, Paul and Joe have played more than 500 shows in 49 states. (Give it up, Hawaii!) Paul (on guitar) and Joe (keyboards) dress in white shirts and orange and red-striped Gryffindor ties. They have a rotating cast of drummers, à la Spinal Tap, and are occasionally joined onstage by the giant squid that lives in the Hogwarts lake. Their hits include "Save Ginny Weasley," "Voldemort Can't Stop the Rock!" and "The Weapon We Have Is Love":

*I'm glad we've got our army
And we're gonna take down the dark
lord's crew
The Death Eaters will all be running
from me
And you, and you, and you, and you,
and you...*

The themes of their music are the themes of the books: love and friendship, angst and struggle. "We think. What does

Harry Potter go through?" Paul says. "If I was a teenager, and I was going through this, what kind of songs would I be writing? So when Harry's love life goes sour after a date with Cho Chang, you write a song about that. Or he discovers this awesome potions book with all these secrets in it, and he's totally pumped. You write a song about that."

Harry and the Potters' abiding aesthetic is punk rock: technical polish and production values take a backseat to raw volume and raw emotion. "It can be poorly recorded and sloppily performed as anything," Paul says. "It's all about investing yourself in it." This DIY attitude is an integral part of what makes wizard rock spread. It's the musical equivalent of fan fiction: fans hear about the band or see it live, and they don't want to just listen; they want to play. "There's a quote about the Velvet Underground," Paul says. "Nobody ever bought their records, but

**Wizard rock is
just one aspect of a
subtle transformation
that's taking place
in the world of Harry
Potter fandom**

for every 10 people who saw them play, four of them started a band. It's almost like that with us."

Not all wrock is punk wrock. There's plenty of stylistic diversity in the scene, which ranges from the electric girl pop of the Parselmouths to the darkly gleaming hip-hop of Swish and Flick. But if you're trying to get your head around wizard rock, punk is a good place to start. Like punk, this is a subculture in which the fundamental poles of popular culture, cool and uncool, have no meaning. Nerds tend to be very comfortable with powerful, unironized emotion—Harry and the Potters' 2008 tour was titled *Unlimited Enthusiasm*. As the poet said, they're too busy singing to put anybody down.

Though after seven years on the road, the DeGeorge brothers are starting to slow down. "We've kind of come to a place where we used to be playing 120 shows a year. Now we're playing 15 to 20," Paul says. After all, he's 30 now, and he's done far more than he ever thought he would. "Our beginnings were so inauspicious, playing in a shed in our parents' backyard. All of our early shows were in bookstores and libraries. And that was all we ever wanted from it, you know? The chance to play a loud rock 'n' roll show in a library," Mischief managed. ■

BOOKS

Knockout. In her sharp collection of stories, Maile Meloy pulls no punches



BY MARY POLS

DON'T LET THE EASY ACCESSIBILITY of Maile Meloy's writing fool you; she's capable of witchcraft. You could blaze through her first novel, *Liars and Saints*, happily reach for the second, *A Family Daughter*, see that it's about the same family and prepare yourself for a sequel. Instead, what you get is the same saga, different narrative. Characters die in one book and not the other, have sex in one and suffer tormented lust in the other. Individually, each novel is well crafted and compulsively readable. Together, they're a meta-authorial head game that makes you rethink the nature of fiction and your attachments to it. I'm still not over them.

So I approached Meloy's new collection of stories, *Both Ways Is the Only Way I Want It* (Riverhead; 219 pages), with some suspicion. The title nods to her love of duality, but how could this measure up to the quiet audacity of that novelistic one two



Reality bites In her writing, Meloy is an expert on loneliness

punch? By working in opposition, it turns out. If her paired novels demonstrate that more—e.g., a retelling—can be more, *Both Ways* shows how less really is too. These 11 stories are quick, powerful jabs, startling in their economy; you're propelled toward each ending, certain she won't be able to wrap it up in one more page, and you're proved wrong every time.

Meloy is an expert on loneliness, showing us how people find it and why they stay with it. In "Travis, B," a battered cowboy acts out a romantic fantasy only to find he has no idea how to meld it with reality. Meloy also mines relationships for their own facets of loneliness, most often spawned by distrust. In one brisk, scathing story, "Two-Step," we observe a philandering husband from the perspective of his mistress, who thinks she is clear-eyed ("He was acting like the man he wanted to be, in hopes that he could become it") but who is actually hopelessly besotted. In another, "The Children," we go inside the mind of a cheater debating his options. Meloy leaves his ambivalence unresolved, but the story is undeniably complete. And like all of Meloy's other precise, perfectly formed stories, it could also be the beginning of a novel you couldn't put down. Both ways is, apparently, how this writer gets it. ■



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Short List

TIME'S PICKS FOR THE WEEK



1 DVD Do the Right Thing: 20th Anniversary Edition

The boom-box beats and bright white Air Jordans are pure '80s, but Spike Lee's snapshot of racial tensions boiling over on a hot Brooklyn day still sizzles, with star turns by Danny Aiello, John Turturro, Rosie Perez and Lee. DVD extras include footage of the cast's Bed-Stuy block party.

2 MOVIE Humpday

In this Sundance hit, two old friends issue each other an inebriated challenge: they'll make an "artistic" porno about straight men having sex. And they'll co-star. Lynn Shelton's film may sound gimmicky, but it's a funny, subversive look at male relationships.

3 DVD For All Mankind

To mark the 40th anniversary of man on the moon, Criterion offers Al Reinert's superb 1989 documentary of the Apollo missions, in the astronauts' words, with footage from their flights. The conversation is down to earth, the imagery otherworldly, the impact heavenly.

4 BOOK And Here's the Kicker

Comedy writers—like George Meyer (*The Simpsons*) and Dan Mazer (*Borat*)—tend to be depressed, brilliant, erratic and sometimes even funny. Mike Sacks' collection of remarkably frank interviews with 21 of them reads like a secret history of popular culture.

5 DVD The State: The Complete Series

Is the world ready for MTV's underrated cult sketch show from the '90s? Since the cast members have gone on to make other underrated cult shows and movies, maybe it's not. But you should be. This surreal, pop-savvy comedy remains hilariously hip more than a decade later.



Arts Online

For more reviews and openings this weekend, go to time.com/entertainment

By Richard Corliss, Amy Lennard Goehner, Lev Grossman, Radhika Jones, Mary Pols and James Poniewozik



Dylan McDermott's Short List

Best known for his six-year role as defense lawyer Bobby Donnell on *The Practice* (for which he received an Emmy nomination and won a Golden Globe), McDermott stars in the TNT series *Dark Blue*, premiering July 15, as the leader of a group of undercover cops. Off set, he can be found experimenting on the other side of the lens or basking in the notes of Miles—all while giving props to his mom.

Raw photography

The work of photographer Nan Goldin cuts deep and makes me feel raw and unsettled. Her subjects remind me of New York in the late 1970s and '80s, when things were less conservative. I love taking photographs. I took a bunch of shots in Miami nightclubs on New Year's Eve; that was my attempt at being like her.

Haunting canvases

Francis Bacon is the one painter who describes exactly how I'm feeling. I am devastated and haunted by his work. There is a beautiful horror that lives in each of his paintings.

Trumpeter without peer

The first time I heard the album *Kind of Blue* by Miles Davis, I didn't leave the house for two days. The endless sadness that leaks out of every note of his trumpet helps me understand things a little better.

An essential guidebook

I have so much respect for Bill Wilson, author of *The Language of the Heart* (and founder of Alcoholics Anonymous). He is one of my true mentors, my guide in this uncertain life. This book gives me a much needed road map.

Filial fan

The playwright Eve Ensler, author of *The Vagina Monologues*, is on the front lines saving women around the world. I am in constant awe of her generosity and courage. Her newest play, *O.P.C. (Obsessive Political Correctness)*, is just another indication of her brilliance. I say that not as her son but as her loyal fan.





Nancy

Gibbs

Sarah's Song. Does Palin prove that women have to make a choice between career and family life? Not at all

SARAH PALIN, THE TECHNICOLOR RORSCHACH TEST, HAS a way of talking that leaves people unclear about what she said but certain about what she meant. Her Declaration of Independence included so many clauses—it's for the good of her family, her state, "it's about country"—that she invited people to hear what they wanted to hear. But there's a downside to projecting our instincts onto her actions, especially for women who, regardless of their politics, recognized Palin as a pioneer, leading the way into unfamiliar and potentially hostile terrain.

From the moment Palin appeared onstage last summer, one central narrative was whether she could possibly juggle her complex personal and public lives. By now we're used to seeing stories about professional women who conclude that "having it all" is a myth and leave the arena in search of their inner Donna Reed. This "trend" is used to explain the paradox that women now make up a majority of college grads and have roughly matched men in law and business and medical schools but are still paid less and remain dramatically underrepresented in executive suites, not to mention statehouses and the White House.

So before Palin becomes the latest convenient case study, we should note that the opting-out revolution is largely a myth. A study in the *American Sociological Review* in June 2008 found that fewer than 8% of professional women born since 1956 have left the workforce for a year or more during their prime childbearing age. Most working mothers, the Census Bureau reports, are back in the workforce within a year of having a child; better-educated women and those who can afford to drop out are actually less likely to. Rather than the pull of the playground, 86% of women in one survey cited the push of a hostile or inflexible workplace as their reason for leaving their jobs.

But the idea that ambitious women reach a certain point in their professional lives only to be hauled homeward by some innate maternal imperative has a cultural life all its own. The opt-out myth is especially damaging right now, when job competition is fierce. When a very prominent woman takes on a commitment—say, as governor of a state, whose voters are supposed to be the ones who decide if she's no longer able to be effective—and then walks away, a shudder goes through every

venue where women fight to assert their rights and affirm their commitment. How much easier does this make it for prospective employers, even unconsciously, to pause before hiring or promoting a woman with young children?

Thus, it's important to note that Palin never said she was leaving office to spend more time with her children. You could say she falls more into the "pushed out" category than into the "opt out" one, given the hostility of the legislature, the media and the ethics hounds. But there's another relevant model as well: lots of women who make a detour aren't looking to have more time for Gymboree; they're doing it because they want to start their own business, make their own rules, be their own boss—and this seems more Sarah's tune. Palin's brand is maverick, and her mode is moxie. "I'm not a quitter," she said. "I'm a fighter."

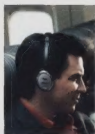
To her critics, she is also delusional to believe that being governor right now was getting in the way of being President one day in the future. But her champions note that she is now in a position to earn as much money in two weeks of speechmaking as she would have earned in the rest of her term. She has a following as ardent as that of any modern leader—whom she will now be more conveniently positioned to lead. In this view, she didn't leave the governor's office because it was too demanding but because it was too small.

This ambiguity, of course, leaves Palin in a paradoxical political position. If she stepped down because of the values she affirmed—because her kids need her, the good of her state must come first—then her fans will love her even more. But if she maintains a schedule that takes her further away from her children, plays the victim of a carnivorous press as part of a strategy to place herself squarely in its spotlight, finds running a cult of personality more congenial than running a state and running for President more appealing still, then those same fans may conclude that she has violated some core values: family values, yes, but also loyalty, perseverance, truth-telling and fortitude under fire. So maybe it's in all our interests to take her at her word and see whose interests she fights for in the days ahead. "If I have learned one thing," she said, "life is about choices." That's something for which women have been fighting for a very long time. ■



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Allstate believes there's a way to make every turnpike, highway, route and dirt road safer for teens.

SUPPORT THE STANDUP ACT OF 2009

The STANDUP Act* (H.R. 1895) creates a National Graduated Driver Licensing (GDL) law that limits

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*The STANDUP Act is the Safe Teen And Novice Driver Uniform Protection Act of 2009.

Sources: NHTSA's Wheels Weekly; 2008; Allstate America's Teen Driving Hotspots Study; May 2008; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Web-based Injury Statistics Query and Reporting System (WISQARS) [Online] (2008). The Cupped Hands logo is a registered service mark and "That's Allstate's Stand" is a service mark of Allstate Insurance Company, Northbrook, IL; Allstate New Jersey Property and Casualty Insurance Company, Bridgewater, NJ. © 2009 Allstate Insurance Company.